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CAPTIVE KASHMIR.

Story of a Betrayed And Enslaved People

BY AZIZ BEG

"Based on official records, 'Captive Kashmir' is a brilliant and authoritative version of the dispute from the moment the Maharaja decided to accede to India......But it is not only a factual but forceful presentation of our case and makes a rich contribution to the available literature on Kashmir. What is more, the author has maintained the reader's interest from the first to the last chapter. I must congratulate Mr. Aziz Beg on his excellent work and the great service he has rendered to the people of Kashmir."

H. S. SUHRAWARDY

"I have been delighted to read Mr. Aziz Beg's book 'Captive Kashmir'. In my opinion he has done a very great service to his people by presenting their national cause in such a logical, fully documented and vigorous fashion. For us all Kashmir is the very crux and test of our existence. Mr. Aziz Beg has given us unforgettable help in our fight by placing the issues before us and the world with such clarity, conviction and precise judgment. I have always had the highest regard and respect for him. His latest achievement has brought vigorous confirmation to my very high opinion of his talent and patriotism."

MIAN MUMTAZ DAULTANA

Mr. Aziz Beg's "Captive Kashmir" is a valuable addition to the literature on Kashmir. Written in a racy style, it traces the history of the struggle for freedom in Kashmir. Its vivid phrases bring before the mind's eye the grim tragedy that is being enacted in Kashmir by the Indian occupation.

CHAUDHRI MOHAMAD ALI

CAPTIVE KASHMIR

By **AZIZ BEG**

"Mr. Aziz Beg's 'Captive Kashmir' is not only the first book of its kind on the subject but the finest commentary on the genesis of this Indo-Pakistan dispute. Every Pakistani who goes abroad for business or holiday, every student who has to stay in a foreign country for higher studies and every member of an official or unofficial delegation should possess a copy of this book before they leave Pakistan. I take this opportunity of publicly congratulating Mr. Aziz Beg on his great literary work and thanking him for the outstanding service he has rendered to Pakistan, to the cause of democracy, and, above all, to the people of Kashmir."

YUSUF HAROON M.P.

"Captive Kashmir" is undoubtedly the best book on the subject and I feel it is indispensable for those who might be interested in the Kashmir case. By writing this book you have rendered a great service to Pakistan as well as to the unfortunate people of Kashmir......

JAHAN ZEB KHAN M.P.
WALI OF SWAT STATE.

"....This is a most useful book on Kashmir...."

MAJ.-GEN. ISKANDER MIRZA.
President of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

CAPTIVE KASHMIR

CAPTIVE KASHMIR

By

AZIZ BEG

ALLIED BUSINESS CORPORATION,

54, The Mall, Lahore.

Printed in Pakistan by
the Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi.

"Captive Kashmir" Reviews

Universally Acclaimed as the Best Book on the subject

"Mr. Aziz Beg is a prolific writer and this book is inspired with passion and conviction of the rightness of the Azad Kashmir cause and the justice, which can hardly be denied, of Pakistan's claim, supported by many lands, to a plebiscite in a lovely, tragic and vital State."

—ECONOMIC DIGEST, LONDON.

"......The learned author has completely demolished India's familiar arguments and exposed Nehru's intransigent game. For this national service, Mr. Aziz Beg deserves our appreciation and congratulations......"

—NAWA-E-WAQT, LAHORE.

"Mr. Aziz Beg, Pakistan's well-known journalist, has earned the gratitude of the whole nation by writing a comprehensive book on Kashmir. In fact, this book is enough to belie the Indian claim to Kashmir and establish the justness of the Pakistan case. Apart from logical arguments and documentary evidence which make the book a really truthful study of the subject, the beauty of language and richness of expression have made it a valuable addition to the existing literature on Kashmir......"

—JANG, KARACHI.

"Mr. Aziz Beg, Pakistan's well-known journalist and famous writer, has taken great pains in writing "Captive Kashmir." He has dealt with the problem of Kashmir in such a convincing manner

that every just and truth-loving individual is intellectually compelled to recognise Nehru's intransigence."

—ANJAM, KARACHI.

"Captive Kashmir" is a comprehensive and thought-provoking commentary on the Kashmir dispute, from Pakistan's point of view. We are all aware of the genesis of the Kashmir problem but the author of this book has woven all its aspects into a connected story which is not only based on reason and truth but limelights the political importance of this dispute. A perusal of the book shows that Mr. Aziz Beg has succeeded in his mission."

—IMROZE, LAHORE.

"The whole book has been written in such a delightfully simple and yet powerful language that it can well serve as a mirror which reflects the growing Indian imperialism. We congratulate the author on behalf of all Pakistanis who regard Kashmir as a question of life-and-death to them."

—KOHISTAN, RAWALPINDI.

"After reading Mr. Aziz Beg's 'Captive Kashmir', one has to admit that this book is easily the best so far written on this dispute. As an English language writer, Mr. Aziz Beg wields a powerful pen. What is more, he is one of those few writers who not only fought on the intellectual plane but were prominent among those associates of Quaid-i-Azam who were in the forefront in the struggle for Pakistan. In this book Mr. Aziz Beg has so picturesquely related, in his enchantingly individual style, the heart-rending story of 40 lakhs Kashmiris that one can almost visualise the various scenes of this dismal drama. We strongly commend this book for study in Western countries, as it is a factual and faithful record of events which have marked the history of this dispute. We congratulate Mr. Aziz Beg on his wonderful production."

—MILLAT, KARACHI.

"Mr. Aziz Beg's 'Captive Kashmir,' a fine and exhaustive discussion of the dispute, is both welcome and timely......The

book is a powerful presentation of Pakistan's case and makes useful reading."

—THE TIMES OF KARACHI,
KARACHI.

"A voluminous literature has been produced on Kashmir ever since the United Nations has been seized with the dispute. But only a few have been successful in presenting the entire problem in its proper perspective....'Captive Kashmir' is a forceful presentation of the case of the Kashmiri people."

—PAKISTAN SENTINEL, KARACHI.

"......In this handy volume. Mr. Aziz Beg has dealt with the subject with such logic, simplicity and clarity and has so powerfully presented his thesis that its study removes all conceivable misunderstandings and one begins to appreciate the real genesis of the Kashmir dispute. The book deserves to be widely distributed and we should see to it that all members of the United Nations and our Embassies abroad make the best use of it......"

—INQILAB, KARACHI.

"Captive Kashmir" will undoubtedly serve as a feather in the cap of Mr. Aziz Beg who is already well-known as a writer. Much has been written on Kashmir but "Captive Kashmir" can surely claim to be "something new". The force and the simplicity of the language, the arguments and ideas, the treatment of the subject and the way out suggested by the author should endear the book to both foreign and Pakistani readers.

—ITTEFAQ, DACCA.

"It is a well documented work and the first five chapters make dispassionate reading. One notices the impersonal and disinterested historian at work, digging out the facts which enhance the authenticity and value of the work ...It is incidentally a history of Indo-Pakistan relations during the last years also because Kashmir is the testing barometer of our relations.

Aziz Beg should be congratulated for a well-organised, well-ordered and well-produced book. The epigraphs of the chapters form an interesting study. They have been very well chosen."

—RADIO PAKISTAN, KARACHI.

" 'Captive Kashmir', by Aziz Beg, is a tasteful publication, well printed, well-bound, and with an effective dust cover. The value of these features is enhanced for those who, like me, happen to know that the book was written and printed in a remarkably short period of time.

Aziz Beg's 'Captive Kashmir' is based on the authenticity of official records, but this is not a mere factual documentation alone. It also has an emotional appeal and, in that sense, it is a refreshing departure from the usual documentary literature on the problem of Kashmir. The author has traced the course of the dispute over Kashmir from the time the cowardly Maharaja acceded to India.. The success of the author lies in the effective and convincing manner in which he has exposed the endless intransigence and dishonesty of India on the basis of facts and figures publicly recognised by Pandit Nehru at one or the other occasion.

The language used is delightful and at moments touches a high degree of eloquence. The book reads like oratory. It has vigour, vitality and a great deal of punch in it. It is well worth a perusal by those who want to view the problem of Kashmir both through their head and heart."

—Radio Pakistan, Lahore.

THE INDIAN COMMENT.

It is reported that Mr. Nehru secured and read a copy of "Captive Kashmir." The result was an order from the Indian Prime Minister's Secretariat saying that "the Indian Government has prohibited bringing into India or the State of Pondicherry any copy of the book "Captive Kashmir" written by Aziz Beg". The order was issued "under the powers conferred by the Sea Customs Act". It also banned "the entry of any translation, reprint or other document containing substantial reproductions or extracts of the book."

According to another New Delhi datelined news item, the Police conducted "a search of the residence of Chairman of the End-Kashmir Dispute Committee, Mr. Lakhanpal. They were looking for copies of a book "Captive Kashmir". No copy or objectionable material was found at the residence of Mr. Lakhanpal. Police also raided a number of other places for the same purpose."

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

In the course of their hundred-year rule (1846—1946), out of the 28 Prime Ministers appointed by Dogra Hindu rulers of Kashmir, not one was Muslim. In the Independent India of Mr. Nehru, of the 129 successful candidates for the examination of the Indian National Defence Academy held in 1954, not one was Muslim. On the list of 88 successful candidates for the Indian Air Force examination held the same year there was not a single Muslim.

The demand of the Muslims of Kashmir and their brethren of British India, for a separate homeland in the subcontinent, was prompted by supreme considerations of self-preservation. We, the people of Kashmir, were, under alien Hindu rule, helots in our homeland. The Muslims in British India saw, in the emerging forces of democracy, the ultimate domination of the Hindu brute majority force. The secular India of Mr. Nehru has only justified those fears.

The choice of Kashmir Muslims for alignment with Pakistan and of Pakistan to serve and stay as haven of peace and progress for Muslims, stands vindicated by current facts, as our early decision to regain national sovereignty was motivated by forces of past history. Mr. Nehru's double-talk may still deceive some well-meaning foreign observers but, to the Muslims of Kashmir, his invasion of our Motherland, was clearly a prelude to the conquest of Pakistan—the last step in the long-winded process of secularization he has been seeking so zealously to preach and equally laboriously to push forward.

The game of intransigence suits Mr. Nehru. He holds the best part of Kashmir. It suits Russia too. To Mr. Nehru, Kashmir offers strategic advantage over Pakistan; to Communism, a divided Kashmir, opportunities for thriving. In this game of pressure tactics, Mr. Nehru keeps flirting with Russia and blackmailing the Western Powers. The witch's cauldron thus keeps boiling in Kashmir because it seemingly suits everybody. But few realize that it does not suit the people of Kashmir, and that it may boil over, as few, indeed, realize the potential of the rage of a long-suppressed and oft-cheated people.

We stopped fighting on U.N. promise of a free and fair plebiscite. We were confident of our ultimate victory in the field. We had crossed swords with Indian troops and we knew their armament made little improvement on their fighting qualities. We were winning the battle, when we were called upon to rely on peace instead of arms. When we voted for peace we were voting for United Nations. It is now nine years that we have waited for that body to make a move to implement its word, to honour its own charter.

In my capacity as President of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government, I visited the States twice. There I had the honour of meeting with representatives of the West at the U.N. Headquarters. On both occasions, I returned heartily strengthened in the belief that the democracies were alive to the legitimate aspirations of the down-trodden masses of unhappy Kashmir. I brought to my people a message of fervent hope. They have been hoping all these years but hoping against hope. We know we are numerically weak. We know our resources are limited. Under the Dogra regime a Kashmiri knew not what to choose—life or death. Now, under the shadow of Mr. Nehru's guns,

we know that life is worse than death. The choice is therefore easy; it is clear. But will not the world powers search their conscience and muster courage to call off the bluff of Mr. Nehru?

The United States of America has assumed a great responsibility today. It leads the forces of the free world. It owes us as it owes to itself, the responsibility to save peace in the heart of Asia. If, over the Suez issue, the U.S. could move the General Assembly to offend Britain and France, its firm allies, it can certainly afford to recommend action against India, a doubtful friend !

The case of Kashmir is simple. The people of Kashmir wished to accede to Pakistan. The Maharaja wanted to align with India. The Maharaja resorted to mass massacres. The people revolted and dethroned him. The Maharaja appealed to India for military aid. Mr. Nehru sent in his troops. Later, the fighting developed into Indo-Pakistan war and was stopped at U.N. intervention. A plebiscite was agreed upon, following overall demilitarization. Indian refusal to vacate aggression is absurd; its objections are extraneous to the agreement and irrelevant to the issue which, in plain words, is "determination of the will of the people in an atmosphere free from pressure." This is easy to achieve; if a U.N. force could replace the Anglo-French armed forces in the Sinai and the Suez zone, there is no reason why it cannot replace Indian and Pakistani armies in Kashmir.

I cannot close this appeal without a word about the publication of Mr. Aziz Beg. In his brilliant exposition of the Kashmir case, the author has shed new light on many fundamentals as well as various facets of the Kashmir problem. The treatise adds a masterly

contribution to the voluminous literature on the subject. While congratulating Mr. Aziz Beg on this enchanting effort, I deem it my duty to express to him my deep sense of gratitude for the pains he has taken in pleading the case of the people of Kashmir to the moral conscience of mankind.

Azad Kashmir Zindabad! Pakistan Zindabad!

SARDAR MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN,
PRESIDENT,
AZAD JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT.

MUZAFFARABAD:
September 4, 1957.

PREFACE

At the foot of the Himalayas, Nature stretched a valley which became proverbial for its grandeur, its fragrance and lyrical appeal. It has always been a sort of dreamland and greenland for poets who have used the sweetest and strangest epithets to describe its scenic beauty and natural richness. Chroniclers, historians and travellers called it a fairyland and used the most powerful phrases to describe its scented saffron fields and smiling flower beds, its expansive meadows and beautiful cascades, its tempting slopes and enchanting orchards, its serpentining streams, and gorgeous rivers, its lovely lakes and ice-cold springs, its mighty mountains and silvery peaks. But, alas, today, this captivating land is a captive land. Its capital town, Srinagar, described years ago by Nehru as a "fairy city of dreamlike beauty" has become today a "slave city of dreamlike horror".

In the following pages is a simple story of the betrayed and enslaved people of Kashmir. They are being ruled against their will; they have not been given a fair democratic chance to determine their political future. They were promised a plebiscite; Pakistan insists on it; the Security Council is committed to it; the world Press demands it; but Nehru does not want it.

As this book will serve to show, India's emphatic 'No' to every plebiscite proposal represents a complete *volte face* of her initial agreement to any democratic

arrangement suggested to elicit the popular vote of the people of Jammu and Kashmir on the question of accession. Nehru has striven hard to answer this charge of betrayal, but his explanations explain nothing, his defence serves only to defend his intransigence and his arguments show unceremoniously he has divorced sanity and married vanity.

The first three chapters are a kind of pathetic prologue to the dismal Kashmir drama; the act of accession, the exchange of fire and the United Nations' futile bid to find and force a solution on the contending parties.

Is Nehru scared ? Or has he anything to declare in his defence ? Or has he just changed his mind ? The next three chapters go deeper into the subject, as they examine and expose Nehru's three bugbears.

The seventh chapter is a brief dissertation on the character of the Nehru-sponsored "Constituent Assembly" which formally ratified Kashmir's accession to India. The next chapter relates the tragic tale of happenings inside Kashmir, despite Nehru's desperate directives to purchase people's loyalty at any cost.

The real issue was plebiscite: the nineth chapter presents the ever-widening gulf between India's promises and performance. And, finally, the epilogue which is perhaps more in the nature of an epitaph on the tomb of Kashmir.

The Appendices begin with Security Council's two key-resolutions against which India has started an interminable battle of interpretations. These resolutions were the first two shots fired by the United Nations when their intervention was sought, but they

still constitute the basis of a peaceful and democratic settlement of the dispute.

The Second part of the Appendices contains some excerpts from world Press which should serve as a mental aid to the unwary anxious to know Nehru better.

Next come two historic letters of Shaikh Abdullah, the first Prime Minister of Kashmir after Partition, who was arrested without a charge and jailed without a trial.

Even a cursory look at the last part of the Appendices would show the inter-dependence of Pakistan and Kashmir, the two natural neighbours, the two inseparable limbs of a body.

I must confess that this book has been rather hurriedly written. I was anxious that the book should be ready before the Security Council resumed discussion on the Kashmir issue and should be available to all those who are vitally interested in the dispute during the current session of the U.N. General Assembly. In fact, the book has largely been written for our foreign friends who have lent us their full moral support during the last eight years. During my recent tour of the United States, Europe and the Middle East, I felt that there were certain aspects of the Kashmir situation which had not been adequately appraised and appreciated. This book is my humble attempt to present the Kashmir case as clearly and concisely as possible and to relate a fair, factual story of a dispute whose moral content, legal facets and political implications are often misrepresented by Indian publicists abroad.

I have tried to give an accurate and authoritative account of the Kashmir crisis; but it is for others to judge whether I have succeeded in making any contri-

bution to the swelling literature on the subject. With these preliminary remarks, let me invite the reader to have a look at the book.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am profoundly grateful to Mr. Din Mohammad, Adviser, Kashmir Affairs, for the invaluable help he has given me in sifting, scrutinizing and placing at my disposal all the source material on the subject. I would equally like to express my sincerest thanks to Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, President, Azad Kashmir, who wrote the Foreword to the book when half the manuscript was in the press. For his friendly advice and assistance, Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, deserves my special gratitude. I am also indebted to Mr. Majid Malik, Principal Information Officer, Government of Pakistan, and the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, for their sympathetic co-operation and encouragement. I must acknowledge my thanks to Syed Abdus Subhaan for typing the manuscript in record time; to Mr. G. Asghar, of Pakistan Herald Press, for printing it in less than a fortnight; and to Mr. M. H. Saiyid who did a lot of running about to ensure good get-up and production of the book. A. B.

September, 1957.

Preface to the Second Edition

I am heartened to find that my book has been liked and welcomed by all. I have taken this opportunity to revise the book and make some valuable additions in Chapter V, VII and IX.

November, 1957. **A.B.**

Preface to the Third Edition

I feel happy and encouraged that the third Edition of the book is appearing within a few months. I have again made use of this opportunity and thoroughly revised the book in the light of the latest developments. I have added a new Chapter and a few illustrations and made some alterations in the text. I am particularly grateful to Chaudhri Mohamad Ali for his valuable suggestions.

I am thankful to many friends who have sent letters of appreciation and commended this book for study to all public-spirited leaders in the democratic world. I am equally indebted to our own public men who lost no time in sending me their comments on the book and to newspaper editors for the timely reviews they have published. On the advice of the publishers, these comments and reviews are being reproduced in this Edition.

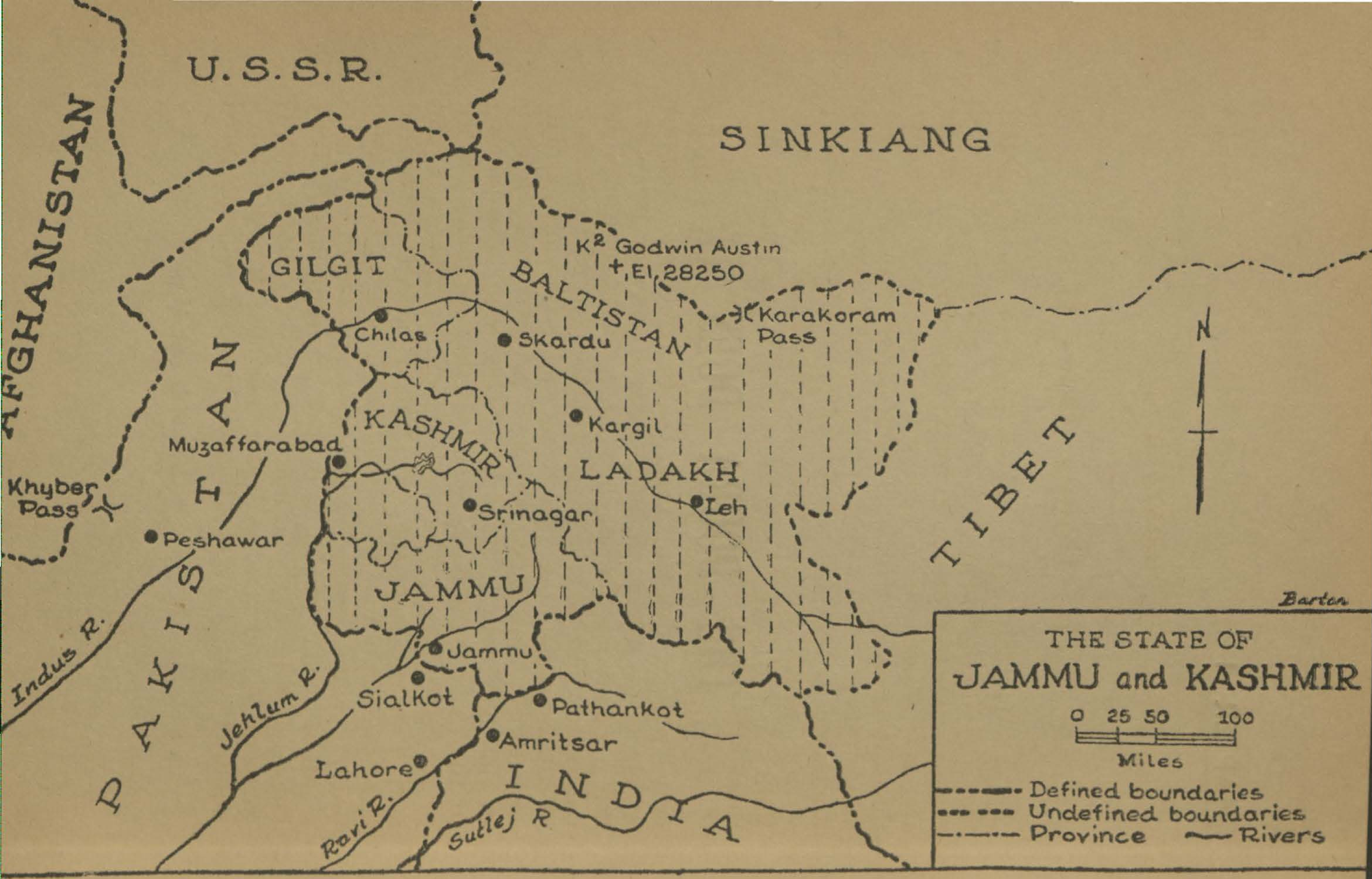
Finally, I owe an apology to a large number of my countrymen who have not yet been able to secure a copy of this book. I hope this Edition will be able to meet the local demand.

April 1958. **A.B.**

CHAPTER I

THE DOGRA DOES IT

'Fraud is safe in no hiding place.'


U.S.S.R.
SINKIANG
AFGHANISTAN
GILGIT
K2 Godwin Austin
El. 28250
BALTISTAN
Karakoram Pass
Chilas
Skardu
Kargil
KASHMIR
LADAKH
Leh
Muzaffarabad
Khyber Pass
Srinagar
Peshawar
PAKISTAN
TIBET
JAMMU
Jammu
Sialkot
Pathankot
Amritsar
Lahore
INDIA
Indus R.
Jehlum R.
Ravi R.
Sutlej R.
N
Barton
THE STATE OF
JAMMU and KASHMIR
0 25 50 100
Miles
Defined boundaries
Undefined boundaries
Province
Rivers

CHAPTER I

The Dogra Does It

"It is a land on which God had showered His blessings in the making, where the earth is good and can be made to grow much food, yet many of its people are near starvation; a land where the finest silks and the softest wools are spun and woven into cloth, yet most of its people are clad in rags; a land where precious stones are to be found, yet few of its people possess any; a land which writers have described as 'the Happy Valley', yet only those who visit it are happy, not those who dwell therein."

Hundred years ago, a degenerate Dogra Hindu prince bought this land from the British for an amount which, today, may not be considered enough to establish a medium-sized sugar mill. The paltry price he paid made him the master of 84,000 miles, and possessor of all the mountains and rivers and lakes and gardens and forests and 4,000,000 men, women and children in this Kingdom of Kashmir. This was the beginning of the most tyrannical despotism the world has known in recent history. The subjects of the Maharaja paid such dues and taxes that broke their back; they suffered hardships that bracketed them with beasts; they faced poverty which ground them into dust; they saw persecution which made them fear freedom itself. They knew not what a wholesome meal is like, what a decent garment is and what a house means. Hounded for a hundred years, they breathed in bondage and measured

the miseries of their existence, fromthe womb to the tomb, with not even a chance to know the good things of life. In their human breasts, even hope did not spring, as they actually began to believe that they were eternally condemned and destined to lead a life of suffering and serfdom. Living in the shadow of tyranny and terror, their life became an unending cycle of tears and fears.

What made the situation infinitely more poignant was that there was appalling discrimination against Muslims who constituted 77 per cent. of the population. The highest offices in the State were held by the Maharaja's own kinsmen. A Muslim has never been the Prime Minister of the State; and out of 13 there was only one Muslim battalion in the State army. No Muslim could carry firearms without a licence, and cow slaughter was a capital offence. No Hindu could become a Muslim without losing all his landed property. And, yet, the starved and strangulated Muslim masses contributed 50,00,000 rupees year after year for the maintenance of the Maharaja's fabulous court.

The first flickers of hope appeared on the day Pakistan came into being as a sovereign country of 80,000,000 Muslims, with whom the people of Kashmir were indissolubly bound by ties of culture, kinship and religion. The birth of Pakistan was the birth a new hope in the heart of these people. Pakistan Day was celebrated with great eclat and enthusiasm throughout the State. They thought that a free Kashmir was born as an integral part of free Pakistan. But the ruling scion of the Dogra family wanted to provide his own prologue to the drama that turned out to be a well-laid anti-Pakistan plot. He had been clamouring for "friendly assistance" to save his State from the "invaders"; what he was really manoeuvring was accession to India which was offered on October 26.



This 'Child from the Valley' is the tattered symbol of the poverty and misery and suffering in India-held Kashmir.

But it was not only a dangerous decision; it was a cold-blooded conspiracy to create a situation which should clear the decks for India's annexation of Kashmir.

According to the Indian Independence Act, paramountcy of His Majesty's Government over the Indian Princely States was to lapse on August 15, 1947, when the subcontinent was partitioned and two sovereign States came into being. The States were given the option to accede to India or Pakistan. But, this legal aspect apart, Lord Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy and Governor-General of India, advised the rulers of the States to decide the accession issue after duly considering the geographical location of their States, the communal composition of their population, economic and allied factors, and the wishes of their people. Thus, it was expected that Kashmir would naturally and automatically accede to Pakistan, not only because the people and political parties in the State supported this accession, but it was thought that any other action would be an invitation to disaster. All factors were in favour of accession to Pakistan; but the Maharaja behaved and acted differently. He ignored geographical considerations, disregarded the communal character of the population, spurned the wishes of his people and forgot all the natural factors that made Kashmir and West Pakistan an indivisible economic unit.

The Maharaja was playing with fire; he was told by Lord Mountbatten to accede in time, that is, before August 15. But he began to mark time, prolong the matter and did not even take the risk of discussing the question with those who might persuade him to let his State accede to Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten visited Kashmir in the third week of June and, as the chronicler of his mission puts it, "When he got there

he found the Maharaja politically very elusive and the only conversations that took place were during their various car drives together. Mountbatten on these occasions urged him and his Prime Minister, Pandit Kak, not to make any declaration of independence, but to find out in one way or another the will of the people of Kashmir as soon as possible, and to announce their intention by 14th of August, to send representatives accordingly to one Constituent Assembly or the other. He told them that the newly-created States Department of India was prepared to give an assurance that if Kashmir went to Pakistan this would not be regarded as an unfriendly act by the Government of India. He went on to stress the dangerous situation in which Kashmir would find itself if it lacked the support of one of the two Dominions by the date of the transfer of power. His intention was to give this advice privately to the Maharaja alone and then to repeat it in the presence of his Prime Minister with George Abell (Private Secretary to the Viceroy) and the Resident, Colonel Webb, in attendance, at a small meeting where minutes could be kept.

"The Maharaja suggested that the meeting should take place on the last day of the visit, to which Mountbatten agreed, feeling that this would allow him the maximum chance to make up his mind, but when the time came the Maharaja sent a message that he was in bed with colic and would be unable to attend the meeting. It seems that this is his usual illness when he wishes to avoid difficult discussions."

There are at least five reasons to believe that he avoided discussion because, from the very beginning, he had no intention of acceding to Pakistan and, what is more, the Indian leaders knew it and encouraged him to play this perilous game of procrastination.

(1) Instead of acceding immediately to Pakistan, he concluded a standstill agreement with it. It was a lure to serve the purpose of a lull—to create a false sense of security among the Muslims who were made to believe that the agreement was the first step towards Kashmir's ultimate accession to Pakistan.

(2) Meanwhile, the Maharaja acquired the services of R.S.S. gangs and other militant Hindu and Sikh groups to comb the State of all pro-Pakistan elements before he announced accession to India.

(3) During this period Gandhi and other Congress leaders visited Srinagar, and met the Maharaja. These mysterious moves later confirmed Pakistan's suspicions that there were no gentlemanly negotiations to decide what was right and proper to do in the circumstances, but that the stage was being set for a shady bargain with the Hindu Congress leaders to be announced at the appropriate psychological moment.

(4) Furthermore, during these weeks, it was reported that, "The Kashmir Government has confirmed the news that it is linking the State, via Pathankot, with the East Punjab, and throwing a bridge over the River Ravi. The work is already proceeding at top speed. Temporary arrangements are also under way to make it possible for vehicles and other transport to cross the Ravi. In short, every effort is being made to render the State independent of the two existing arteries of communications that link Kashmir with the outside world. Both of these run through Pakistan."

(5) The indecent haste with which the Government of India accepted the accession offer conclusively proved their complicity in this premeditated plan.

The Indian National Congress had always held the view that "on the lapse of paramountcy sovereign rights in Indian States should revert to the people," and it was for this reason that they opposed Junagadh's accession to Pakistan.

All these facts were revealed not only by the reports that reached Pakistan during those momentous months but by the dispatches sent by foreign correspondents to their newspapers.

It is often asked why and how Lord Mountbatten accepted the responsibility for Kashmir's accession to India, in spite of his known views on the subject. "Why, for example," it is asked, "did he advise that Indian military assistance to the Maharaja must be covered by the legals technicality of accession? How could he have reasoned that it would be illegal for Kashmir (which was at the time of invasion technically an independent country) to ask for military help from India without preceding the request by accession ? He must have assumed that the Pakistan Government would refuse in any case to recognize the legality of such accession brought about without prior determination of the will of the Kashmiri people. He must have known that if war over this issue were to develop between these two Dominions, it would not be on the basis of the legality of such a method of accession, but rather over the fact itself. Why was there at this point no appeal made to the United Nations from either the technically independent Government of Kashmir or from Delhi ? The record reveals no hint that such a possibility was even mentioned. But, finally, it is most difficult to understand why no one, particularly Mountbatten, advanced the most obvious idea, that of immediately getting into contact with the Karachi Government for consultation."

While we leave these debatable points to be settled by future historians, the fact remains that the Maharaja's act of accession to India was the beginning of a battle that continues to rage up to this day and shall continue till the dawn of the day when the people of Kashmir awaken to find themselves free.

CHAPTER II

INVITATION TO BULLET

'He is much in error who supposes force more lasting than goodwill.'

CHAPTER II

Invitation To Bullet

THE Maharaja's fateful decision to accede to India was an open invitation to bullet, though even before he took this action his intentions were known and the people had risen in revolt and formed a free Government of their own. But his formal and fraudulent offer of accession to India was a signal for a popular upheaval, the start of a mighty freedom movement under the dynamic leadership of Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan. It was the culmination of a struggle that began many years ago, but gained strength and intensity when the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was formed in 1931. The smouldering embers burst into a flame of rebellion when the British quit the sub-continent and India and Pakistan were born as two independent States. The hour had struck; the time was ripe; the State was seething with discontent; the people were ready to resist; and when the Maharaja's men asked Muslims to surrender arms, the choice was between life and death. The Kashmiri veterans and ex-servicemen of the Second World War became the spearhead of the struggle, and small resistance groups began to grow everywhere. The Maharaja was alarmed by the reports of civil disobedience in Poonch and the complete rout of the Dogra troops in Mirpur, Muzaffarabad and Bagh. With the arrival of tribal warriors and Punjab volunteers, the Azad forces were reinforced

and it became an all-out fight. The panicky Maharaja flew from Srinagar and took shelter in Jammu.

But, as the movement gained momentum, more and more Muslims were either massacred or driven to Pakistan borders. According to the Kashmir Muslims Association, "the Muslim personnel of the State military and police were either disarmed or arrested; several high officials were dismissed and hundreds of political workers were put behind the bars; in Baramula and Rampur, many people were shot dead on the suspicion that they were welcoming the armies of liberation; a reign of terror had been unleashed against the Muslims who were being killed by the Sikhs, Hindus and State troops, supported by R.S.S. brigands who had come to Kashmir for this specific purpose.'

And here is a factual report jointly submitted by two foreigners who visited the subcontinent and were commissioned for this purpose by the Governments of India and Pakistan:—

"On the morning of November 5, it was announced by beat of drum in Jammu city, in the name of His Highness the Maharaja, that all Muslims must immediately leave the State and that, in fact, Pakistan had asked for them. They were instructed to assemble at the parade ground in Jammu. Conducted from there to the police lines, they were searched, deprived of most of their belongings and loaded on motor lorry convoys. They were told they would be sent to Suchetgarh but instead the convoys took the Kathua Road and halted at Mawa, where the passengers were told to get down.

"At Mawa, the lorry drivers, who were Sikhs and armed to the teeth, removed all the young women from the convoys and began to attack the remainder. The

Kashmir State troops looked on indifferently while the mobs of Sikhs and Hindus were killing the Muslims.

"Out of the four thousand Muslims, who had left Jammu, only nine hundred managed to reach Sialkot, in Pakistan.

"A convoy of seventy trucks, containing most of the respectable Muslim families of Jammu city, left for Suchetgarh on November 6. A few miles out of the city, the trucks were halted and were attacked by armed *jathas* of Sikhs and State troops and volunteers of the Rashtrya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

"During the beginning of October, 1947, about fourteen thousand Muslims living in Sambha were besieged by armed Hindus and Sikhs, who cut off the rations and water-supply of the villages. On October 23, Sambha village was visited by His Highness the Maharaja himself, and almost immediately after his visit, all the Muslim women in the village were taken away by State troops, and the men were slaughtered with the exception of fifteen survivors, who escaped to Sialkot. About eight thousand Muslims assembled at the Bulla Tank near Kathua on October 20, after their request for protection had been ignored by the sub-divisional magistrate of Kathua. After marching three miles towards the Pakistan border, they were encircled by Dogra troops and armed Sikh civilians, and all of them were slaughtered with the exception of forty persons, who managed to escape to Sialkot.

"On the instructions of the State Government, about twenty-five thousand Muslims from Miran Sahib area collected at Maogaon to be evacuated to Pakistan. But as they were doing so, their women and all their personal belongings were taken away from them by Dogra troops, and the rest made to stand in a line, whereupon they were riddled with machine-gun bullets.

Only one hundred of them escaped, hiding in maize fields."

As this communal carnage was on, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, suggested three steps to effect a peaceful settlement of the dispute, at a meeting with Lord Mountbatten on November 1.

"1. *To put an immediate stop to fighting, the two Governors-General should be authorized and vested with full powers by both Dominion Governments to issue a proclamation forthwith giving forty-eight hours' notice to the two opposing forces to cease fire. We have no control over the forces of the Provisional (Azad) Government of Kashmir or the tribesmen engaged in the fighting, but we will warn them in the clearest terms that if they do not obey the order to cease fire immediately the forces of both Dominions will make war on them.*

"2. *Both the forces of Indian Dominion and the tribesmen to withdraw simultaneously and with the utmost expedition from Jammu and Kashmir State territory.*

"3. *With the sanction of the two Dominion Governments, the two Governors-General to be given full powers to restore peace, undertake the administration of Jammu and Kashmir State, and arrange for a plebiscite without delay under their joint control and supervision.*"

It is not known for what reasons Lord Mountbatten expressed his inability to accept the proposal.

Two weeks later, the Pakistan Prime Minister said in a Press statement:

"The fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations is to prevent might prevailing over right. The whole dispute should, therefore, be brought



Members of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan seen on their arrival in Karachi in the summer of 1948.

before the bar of international opinion. We are ready to request the United Nations Organization immediately to appoint its representative in the Jammu and Kashmir State in order to put a stop to fighting and to the repression of Muslims in the State, to arrange the programme of withdrawal of outside forces, set up an impartial administration in the State until a plebiscite is held, and conduct the plebiscite under its direction and control for the purpose of ascertaining the free and unfettered will of the people of the State on the question of accession."

It was a straight offer, but Nehru's reply was a rigmarole which led nowhere.

Thus, there was no end to bloodshed and Muslim refugees continued to pour into Pakistan. But, in April, 1948, there was a sudden shift in the scene when the Indian troops began a blitzkrieg with the avowed object of destroying all opposition and make the occupation of the State "an accomplished fact". It was a serious situation when they were within striking distance of the Jhelum canal .headworks, so perilously near the Pakistan border. Thus, in May, 1948, the Pakistan troops entered the Azad Kashmir territory as a purely defensive measure to ward off many possible Indian inroads into Pakistan. It was five months-after India had moved the Security Council for "immediate action" in Kashmir. But the fighting continued up to January 1, 1949, when the Security Council arranged a cease-fire which was welcomed by India and accepted by Pakistan on the express condition that it would be followed by demilitarization and plebiscite.

CHAPTER III

ENTER UNITED NATIONS

'Blessed are the peace-makers.'

CHAPTER III

Enter United Nations

INDIA was so sure of the legal validity of the Maharaja's atrocious act of accession that, on January 1, 1948, she referred the matter to the Security Council as a complainant. On Maharaja's frantic requests, it was said, India agreed to accept accession, but circumstances compelled Nehru to declare that "the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people; that pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir, but to the world; we will not and cannot back out of it." But, in Nehru's case, time did not prove a healer or a corrector; the nine weeks that passed between the accession and reference to the Security Council changed the basic attitude of India's Prime Minister towards a dispute which had engulfed the whole valley in a bloody civil war. With the advent of winter, the fighting slowed down and Nehru began to dream of India's permanent occupation of Kashmir. With a pose of injured innocence, Nehru knocked at the door of Security Council like the victim of a bad burglary going to the police station to lodge a complaint. But, strange are the ways of God; the complainant became the accused and today stands condemned in the eyes of the whole world. India was anxious to see Pakistan pronounced as "guilty" but, instead, she finds herself today in the dock. The complaint proved a boomerang; and every allegation she advanced against Pakis-

tan recoiled on her and limelighted issues she was most anxious to avoid.

India asked the Security Council, "(1) To prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military and civil, from participating or assisting in the invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State; (2) To call upon other Pakistani nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in the Jammu and Kashmir State; (3) To deny to the invaders (*a*) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir, (*b*) military and other supplies, (*c*) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle."

Pakistan was hardly taken by surprise and did not lose a moment in submitting its counter-complaint to the Security Council. Pakistan requested the Security Council not to treat Kashmir as an isolated issue, as it accused India of 'widespread genocide against the Muslim population', forcible occupation of Junagadh State which had acceded to Pakistan, non-fulfilment of agreements reached immediately after Partition, and accepting the Maharaja's dangerous offer of accession which was based on 'violence and fraud', in spite of the standstill agreement which necessitated prior consultation with the Government of Pakistan.

The result of this complaint and counter-complaint was a moral triumph for Pakistan. Firstly, the Security Council did not concede the Indian request that Pakistan be condemned as aggressor; and secondly, the Security Council did not accept India's legal position by ignoring this aspect of the issue. In fact, the Security Council readily agreed with Pakistan that the only lasting solution of the problem was (1) to demilitarize the State; and (2) to hold a plebiscite under the direct supervision of the United Nations.

The Security Council thus appointed a Commission which succeeded in securing India-Pakistan agreement and approval of the two resolutions passed on August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, which laid down the following procedure to decide the question of accession:

(1) Immediate cease-fire and demarcation of the cease-fire line;

(2) the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

(3) a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations to settle the accession issue.

Fighting stopped on the first day of 1949; an agreement on demarcation of the cease-fire line was concluded after seven months; the U.N. military observers took their positions on both sides of the cease-fire line to ensure that the agreement was not violated; but the Commission failed to secure India's acceptance of any plan of demilitarization of the State.

When all efforts proved abortive, the Commission decided that all points of difference which had arisen between India and Pakistan should be referred to Admiral Chester Nimitz who had already been designated Plebiscite Administrator. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

The case came back to the Security Council in September, 1949, and it was decided that a U.N. representative should be appointed to explore the possibility of an agreed solution and iron out the difficulties that had cropped up.

General McNaughton, President of the Security Council, was entrusted with the task of "negotiating informally with the Indian and Pakistani representative

Pakistan accepted his plan but India demanded "the complete disbanding and disarming of the Azad forces and the occupation of the Northern Areas by the Indian army."

The Security Council reconsidered the situation and adopted a resolution on March 14, 1950, appointing Sir Owen Dixon to act as mediator.

Having called a joint meeting of the two Prime Ministers and discussed the issue with them, he came to the tragic conclusion "that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization," preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite "in conditions sufficiently guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence and abuse." Later, he suggested a few specific measures to ensure a free and fair plebiscite, but India turned down every proposal.

The Security Council again took up the case and adopted a resolution on March 30, 1951, providing for the appointment of Dr. Graham, as U.N. representative to implement the resolutions. Dr. Graham laboured for 19 months but India rejected every plan to effect the demilitarization of the State. Besides, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met often not only to discuss the Kashmir dispute but to resolve all issues outstanding between the two countries. Even these direct negotiations failed, as India began to raise the issue of American military aid and Pakistan's participation in the regional defence pacts. These issues had no relevancy to the Kashmir dispute, but India was determined to seize every opportunity to hold up a plebiscite.

All these years have only served to harden Nehru's opposition to any demilitarization plan. When it was

suggested, during and after the Suez crisis, that a U.N. police force in adequate numbers be sent to the State of Jammu and Kashmir to ensure peaceful withdrawal of Indian troops from occupied Kashmir and Pakistani troops from Azad Kashmir to prepare the ground for a popular plebiscite Nehru hit back and said that he could not allow any "foreign troops" in Kashmir. But he conveniently forgot that the primary task of the U.N. force was to expedite the withdrawal of "foreign troops" from Kashmir. As long as the Kashmir dispute was not democratically settled, the Indian troops in Kashmir were technically foreign troops. Besides, why has this U.N. force idea become so "foreign" to Nehru's mind when he is ever ready to contribute a contingent of Indian troops to U.N. force at the slightest indication of trouble brewing in the remotest part of the world.

In the course of an article which appeared in *Washington Post* on December 4, 1956, I said:

"Kashmir's relations with India are based on force, not consent, and 100,000 Indian troops patrolling and policing the State are foreign troops. Since the U.N. is not yet relieved of its responsibility in Kashmir, the least it should do is to enforce the same measures in this case as it has already enforced in similar cases. For the first time a U.N. police force has been created to deal with a sudden and serious situation. If, within eight days of the Middle East crisis, a United Nations' police force could be ready to be sent to Egypt to ensure peaceful withdrawal of foreign troops from this country, why not a U.N. police force for Kashmir to clear the valley of all foreign troops and prepare the ground for a popular plebiscite, when the dispute has been on the Security Council agenda for eight years?

The prerequisites of this plan should be:

(1) Sending a U.N. police force to the State of Jammu and Kashmir (including Azad Kashmir).

(2) Withdrawing Indian troops from occupied Kashmir and Pakistani troops from Azad Kashmir within 10 days of the arrival of the U.N. police force.

(3) Dissolving the present ministry of occupied Kashmir and installing a caretaker government run by the permanent members of the civil service. These officials will be responsible for maintaining law and order with the help of the U.N. and local police forces.

(4) Releasing all political prisoners.

(5) Giving a fair chance to both India and Pakistan during the preparatory period of, say, three months to canvass support for Kashmir's accession to either country through press, platform and pulpit.

(6) Appointing a Plebiscite Administrator who should conduct a plebiscite with the help of United Nations' experts and supervisors, both India and Pakistan acting as passive observers."

In a statement to the Security Council on January 16, 1957, Pakistan's Foreign Minister made a similar suggestion which was embodied in a resolution vetoed by the Soviet Union. Thus, the Security Council adopted yet another resolution on February 21, 1957, and appointed yet another mediator to confer with the Governments of India and Pakistan on the unresolved questions relating to demilitarization and plebiscite. Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish representative on the Security Council, who was appointed for this purpose, visited the subcontinent during the spring and submitted his



Mr. Gunnar Jarring, Security Council Representative on Kashmir, called on Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Prime Minister of Pakistan, on March 15, 1957.

report on April 29, 1957. To say the least, the Jarring Report is a laboured but futile attempt to placate India and satisfy Nehru's vanity. There is little doubt that he made the sincerest efforts to find a solution, but the pity is that he perhaps unwittingly encouraged India to initiate discussion on issues which his predecessors thought had been settled.

Firstly, he unnecessarily tried to emphasize the Indian view that "it was incumbent on the Security Council to express itself on the question of aggression and equally incumbent on Pakistan to vacate the aggression." Similarly, he states that he "could not fail to take note of the concern expressed in connection with the changing political, economic and strategic factors surrounding the whole issue of the Kashmir question, together with the changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia." It was perhaps a little too late for Mr. Jarring to raise the issue of "aggression" as, in spite of India's repeated requests, the Security Council never took any note of it. The question of changed and changing "balance of force" in this part of the world has nothing to do with the settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

Secondly, he has needlessly tried to project the Indian view that sections B and E of Part I of the Council resolution of August 13, 1948, had not been implemented by the Government of Pakistan. But it is easily forgotten that paragraph B of Part I of this resolution merely prohibited the augmentation of the military potential of the forces under the control of the respective Governments in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It could not possibly object to any steps the two Governments might take in modernizing their army and improving their armament positions. In this connection, it is pertinent to note that Dr. Graham

had clearly stated in paragraph 32 of his third report that the present number of armed forces on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line was estimated to be less than fifty per cent. of the number of such forces on January 1, 1949, the day cease-fire became effective. Besides, the United Nations' military observers never raised any such objections against Pakistan. Section E of Part I of this resolution exhorts the two Governments to create "an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations." It is such a nebulous charge that Pakistan could easily cite numerous instances to prove that India had done her worst to spoil the atmosphere necessary for fruitful negotiations by sabotaging every move to resolve the Kashmir dispute by peaceful and democratic means.

Thirdly, Mr. Jarring wants the Security Council to "be aware of the fact that the implementation of international agreements of an *ad hoc* character, which has not been achieved fairly speedily may become progressively more difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change." It is substantially repetition of the first point, but it is strange how he can entertain for a moment the idea that international agreements which are recorded words of honour, are ever affected, unless so limited, by lapse of time or change of circumstances. The resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, were perhaps *ad hoc* in the sense that they were adopted to meet a particular situation but the disputants had taken definite action which could not have been taken without a prior mutual agreement.

Fourthly, Mr. Jarring suggested the method of arbitration, which Pakistan accepted as a gesture of goodwill and co-operation but India rejected because

"such procedure would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir and the rights and obligations of the Union of India in respect of this territory," and might be interpreted as indicating that Pakistan had *locus standi* in the question. It is hardly possible to imagine a more absurd objection as, it was India that impleaded Pakistan before the Security Council; it was her Prime Minister who discussed the dispute with the Pakistan Prime Minister and it was agreed that a plebiscite be held to determine "whether the State should accede to India or to Pakistan."

The Security Council met in the last week of September, 1957 to consider the Jarring report. The Pakistan Foreign Minister rightly insisted that "the Security Council should proceed with the main task before it." But the Indian representative trotted out his trite arguments and did not contribute one word to ease the situation or bring the dispute nearer solution. In fact, true to form, he laboured hard to confuse the issues and get the Security Council into a mess. After listening to the speeches of Indian and Pakistani representatives, the Security Council met again to consider yet another resolution and appoint yet another mediator.

The joint resolution submitted by the members of the Security Council on November 16, 1957, and the amended resolution approved on November 27, 1957, show to what extent world powers have agreed to be coerced by India's intransigent attitude. The fourth paragraph of the first resolution read "that the Governments of India and Pakistan recognize and accept the commitments undertaken by them in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, dated August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, which

envisage the determination of the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, and that Mr. Jarring felt it appropriate to explore what was impeding their full implementation." But, in the subsequent resolution, the words "commitments undertaken by them in" were deleted and instead the words "provisions of its resolution, dated January 17, 1948, and of" were inserted. Again, the most significant operative paragraph of the first resolution requested "the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to make any recommendations to the parties for further action which he considers desirable in connexion with Part I of the UNCIP resolution of August 13, 1948, having regard to his third and fifth reports and the report of Mr. Jarring, and to enter into negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan in order to implement Part II of the UNCIP resolution of August 13, 1948, and in particular to reach agreement on a reduction of forces on each side of the cease-fire line to a specific number, arrived at on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions and having regard to the fifth report of the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan." But this paragraph was dropped and the following text was substituted: "Requests the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to make any recommendations to the parties for further appropriate action with a view to making progress toward the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, and toward a peaceful settlement." Furthermore, operative para. 3 was totally deleted. It called upon "the Governments of India and Pakistan to co-operate with the United Nations Representative in order to formulate an early agreement

on demilitarization procedures, which should be implemented within three months of such an agreement being reached."

Thus, in pursuance of a resolution denuded of all binding force, adopted by the Security Council on December 2, 1957, Dr. Graham, the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, reached the sub-continent in the second week of January 1958 and submitted his report in the first week of April, 1958.

Here is a 5-point summary of his report which speaks for itself:

Dr. Graham thought that the two Governments should be prepared to reaffirm that they would respect the integrity of the cease-fire line. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham suggested that Pakistan should withdraw its troops from the State of Jammu and Kashmir simultaneously with the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian forces from the State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission, as provided in Part II of August 13, 1948, resolution. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham recommended that a prompt study be undertaken under the auspices of UNCIP of how the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops could, pending a final solution, be administered by the local authorities in accordance with the provisions of the resolution. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham hinted at the possibility of the stationing of United Nations force on the Pakistan

side of the Jammu and Kashmir border, following the withdrawal of the Pakistan Army from the State. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham pleaded for a conference at the Prime Ministers level to be held under his auspices. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

We cannot possibly accuse Dr. Graham of sardonically referring to the wonderful "co-operation" he received from the Government of India, but we know he had a full taste of the treatment accorded to him in Bombay. We are fully conscious of the limitations of diplomatic assignments and delicate goodwill missions, but it is a pity that Dr. Graham did not pursue the procedure for demilitarization he had laid down six years ago. If he had done so, it would have been a definite step forward towards the implementation of Part II of August 13, 1948, resolution.

But, thanks to these mediators' anxiety to keep Nehru in good humour, India has openly begun to accuse United Nations of "collaborating" with Pakistan. She had always insisted on the withdrawal of Pakistani troops, "as the condition for the demilitarization of the State", but now that Pakistan has offered to do it, she cannot countenance the prospects of a U.N. force stationed on the Kashmir border. But, perhaps, the most amusing and amazing part of this sordid drama is India's rejection of Prime Ministers, conference because in her opinion its acceptance would place "the aggressor and the aggressed on the same footing." How does Nehru explain his meeting with Liaquat Ali Khan in July 1950 under the auspices of Sir Owen Dixon?

Thus, the history of the United Nations' intervention in the Kashmir dispute is a story of concessions



Pakistan Prime Minister Malik Firoz Khan Noon (right) received the United Nations Representative Dr. Frank P. Graham at his residence on January 17, 1958.

to Indian intransigence. The Security Council and the four mediators always realized that plebiscite was the ultimate objective but perhaps they did not appreciate that Nehru's diplomacy was directed to ensure that a plebiscite should never be held. In spite of his unequivocal statements and solemn assurances to the Security Council, to its mediators, to Pakistan and to the world that the final disposition of the disputed valley would be decided "in accordance with the wishes of the people", Nehru's game has been to make the chances of a plebiscite remote and remoter.

Why has India buried her past commitments and challenged the very idea of plebiscite? What has she to say in defence of the new stand her leaders have taken? Has she any reasons to go back on her promises? The next four chapters are devoted to a brief discussion of the factors which, according to Indian spokesmen, have basically altered the position and ruled out the prospects of a plebiscite.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGGRESSION BOGEY

'If you want excuse to whip dog, say he ate the frying pan.'

CHAPTER IV

The Aggression Bogey

From the day the Government of India called upon the Security Council to intervene as the situation in Kashmir was "one of extreme urgency and calls for immediate action" up to the latest Graham report, Mr. Nehru and his representatives have refused to discuss the question of plebiscite as long as Pakistan did not "vacate the aggression". Pakistan must be declared an aggressor and invader; Pakistan must be branded as an intruder and a thief; Pakistan must be pronounced guilty, before India could even consider the offer of a plebiscite. On January 1, 1948, India asked the Security Council "to call upon Pakistan to put an end to the giving of such assistance which is an act of aggression against India." On July 13, 1948, India's Bajpai told the members of the United Nations Commission that they attached "the highest importance to the declaration of Pakistan's guilt." And, Mr. Nehru demanded that "Pakistan must be condemned and Pakistan's perfidy and her part in despoiling Kashmir" must be exposed. When Mr. Josef Korbel, Chairman of the United Nations Commission, asked Mr. Nehru if he was prepared to consider "the idea of an unconditional cease-fire order", the Indian Prime Minister shouted, "How can you ask for something like that? It means that you are putting us on the same platform with the other side. It is your duty, as a Commission, to condemn Pakistan for having an army on our soil.

You should compel them to withdraw. Otherwise, it would be as though a thief had broken into my house, and you would then tell him to stay and not to move out until some further measure had been taken. You treat the thief and the owner of the house as equals. First, the thief must get out, and then we can discuss further steps."

What is Pakistan's case?

Firstly, it should be remembered that the Kashmir conflict is only part of the wider struggle in the sub-continent which led to the partition of India. It is hardly possible to pronounce judgment on any issue or even suggest a solution of any problem which has placed India and Pakistan in two hostile camps without weighing the background of the struggle which inevitably led to separation (See Chapter VI). The question of "Pakistan's aggression" in Kashmir is inseparable from the issue of accession which, as we have seen, was based on "violence and fraud."

Secondly, in her complaint to the Security Council on January 1, 1948, India never mentioned the presence of any Pakistani troops in that part of Kashmir which they claimed as the "Indian territory". When the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan reached the sub-continent, they were officially told by the Government of Pakistan that "three Pakistani brigades have entered Kashmir territory in self-defence." as it was feared that Indian army might invade their own territory. But it was made clear that, long before India moved the Security Council and Pakistani troops entered the State, the people of Jammu and Kashmir had successfully revolted against the then ruler and liberated that part of the State which is at present known as Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas and

these were the territories which, after the evacuation of the Pakistan troops, were not to be transferred to the Indian control.

India even claims that part of Kashmir which is now under the control of Azad Kashmir Government and also the Northern Areas which are today administered by Pakistan. The fact is that the people of both these areas had risen in revolt against the Maharaja and captured these territories, thus depriving the ruler of his sovereignty over these territories even before he offered accession to India. Thus, the day Maharaja acceded to India, he had lost his sovereignty over these territories and he could not, therefore, accede that part of the State of which he was deprived. Secession consequent upon revolt is recognized by international law so long as the territory is not reconquered by the ruler. According to Oppenheim's well-known treatise on "International Law", "Revolt followed by secession is a mode of losing territory to which no mode of acquisition corresponds. But as history teaches, it has frequently been a cause of loss of territory. The question at what time a loss of territory through revolt is consummated cannot be answered once for all, since no hard and fast rule can be laid down regarding the time when a state which has broken off from another can be said to have established itself safely and permanently. It may well happen that, although such a seceded state has already been recognized by a third power, the mother country does not consider the territory to be lost, and succeeds in reconquering it."

In this case, the Azad Kashmir Government had been established in the territories thus acquired and so long as they were not reconquered, they could not be treated as part of the Kashmir occupied by India. Thus, there is no question of any aggression, as Pakis-

tan troops never entered that part of the territory which is under the control of India.

Thirdly, after accepting the two resolutions, India began to put impossibly tortuous constructions on certain provisions and it was for the purpose of resolving these interpretative difficulties that the Security Council appointed, one after the other, four mediators who are tragically bound by the common factor of their failure. India started a new battle of interpretations and found in a casual remark made by Sir Owen Dixon a confirmation of her charge of aggression against Pakistan. The relevant portion of Sir Owen Dixon's report, which was submitted to the Security Council on August 15, 1950, reads as follows:

> "*Upon a number of occasions in the course of the period beginning with the reference on January* 1, 1948, *of the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council, India had advanced not only the contention to which I have already referred that Pakistan was an aggressor but the further contention that this should be declared. The Prime Minister of India, at an early stage of the meeting, made the same contention and he referred to it repeatedly during the conference*".

"I took up the position, first, that the Security Council had not made such a declaration; secondly, that I had neither been commissioned to make nor had I made any judicial investigation of the issue; but thirdly, that without going into the causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the history of the sub-continent, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed on, I believe, 20th



Sir Owen Dixon, U.N's Representative at a meeting with Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Sir Mohammad Zafarullah, and Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani on June 3, 1950.

October, 1947, by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law, and that when, in May 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State that too was inconsistent with international law. I therefore proposed that the first step in demilitarization should consist in the withdrawal of the Pakistan regular forces commencing on a named day. After a significant number of days from the named day, other operations on each side of the cease-fire line should take place and as far as practicable, concurrently. What number of days should be fixed as significant was a matter of detail for them to settle.

"The Prime Minister of Pakistan expressed strongly his dissent from the third of the three positions I took up, that is to say, the third of the positions stated above. But he expressed his readiness to accept, in compliance with my request, the proposition that as a first step in demilitarization the withdrawal of the regular forces of the Pakistan Army should begin on a specified day and that a significant number of days should elapse before the commencement of any operation involving forces on the Indian side of the cease-fire line."

Thus, it is clear that Sir Owen Dixon related all the circumstances to show that the supposition he had made was merely in the nature of an *obiter dictum* and should not be considered a judicial verdict. What is more significant is the fact that in his third report to the Security Council on April 22, 1952, Dr. Frank Graham categorically stated that part I of the resolution of August 13, 1948, could be considered implemented. The initial task before the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan was to stop hostilities.

The cease-fire was agreed upon between the two parties and became effective on January 1, 1949. The two Governments also agreed to the cease-fire line on July 27, 1949.

What is more, dealing with part II of this resolution, Dr. Frank Graham concluded in para. 36 of his report that this part of the resolution of August 13, 1948, had also been implemented to a considerable extent. In this connection it is pertinent to note that the Prime Minister of India, writing to Dr. Graham on September 11, 1951, stated, *inter alia:*

> "*As regards paragraph* 4, *the Government of India not only re-affirm their acceptance of the principle that the question of the continuing accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India shall be decided through the democratic method of free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations but are anxious that the conditions necessary for such a plebiscite should be created as quickly as possible. It is with this object, and this object alone in view, that they have examined your proposals.*"

In para. 46 of his third report, Dr. Graham observed:

> "*The chief remaining obstacle is the difference over the number and character of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarization.*"

The Security Council having received Dr. Graham's third report, dated April 22, 1952, as well as his fourth report, dated September 16, 1952, passed a resolution on December 23, 1952, urging:

> "*the Governments of India and Pakistan to enter into immediate negotiations under the auspices of*

the United Nation's Representative for India and Pakistan in order to reach agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarization, this number to be between 3,000 *and* 6,000 *armed forces remaining on the Pakistan side of the case-fire line and between* 12,000 *and* 18,000 *armed forces remaining on the India side of the cease-fire line, as suggested by the United Nations' Representative in his proposals of July* 6, 1952."

Thus, the only issue to be settled was the number of soldiers on either side of the cease-fire line during the period of plebiscite. But, India is raising irrelevant issues in order to sidetrack the real issue. If the real issue was aggression, why India refused to support the United Nations' resolution condemning China as an aggressor during the Korean campaign and Nehru declared that, "it was clear it wouldn't help to call a country an aggressor when you intended having dealings with it in order to reach settlement by negotiation...." How could Pakistan be an aggressor when India was negotiating with it "in order to reach settlement?" But Nehru is sticking to the aggression bogey, not because it lends any strength to his case, but because it confuses the issues which remain to be resolved. India thinks that the only way she can get out of her commitments is to raise absurd objections, put impossible interpretations on clear provisions, demand new conditions, start new premises for discussion, initiate a legalistic and dialectical debate on the technical meaning of words, tear one sentence from its context and then invite everybody to partake of this unending game of acrobatics.

CHAPTER V

THE ARMS SCARE

'An excuse is a lie guarded.'

CHAPTER V

The Arms Scare

One day, a wolf went to a stream for a drink.

As he stood there he saw a sweet little lamb standing in the water a few yards further down.

"That is a nice fat lamb" thought the wolf. "She will give me a good meal."

So he looked for something to serve as an excuse for picking a quarrel.

"Do not stir up the mud in the water" he shouted.

"Can you not see that I have come to drink here?"

"Yes," said the little lamb meekly, "but any mud I stir up runs down the stream, and can have no effect on the water up where you are drinking."

"Well, even if that is so," went on the cruel wolf, "I cannot forget that last year you were most rude to me."

"Oh, sir," said the poor lamb, "a year ago I was not born !"

Then the wolf fell into a rage, and said, "Oh, you sheep are all the same. If it was not you, it must have been your mother, and you must be punished for it."

So saying, the wolf seized the poor little lamb and ate her up.

The school teacher never fails to remind the children of the eternal moral of Aesop's well-known fable: "He who wants to do evil will soon find an excuse."

Nehru's Kashmir campaign is a story of puerile pretexts to avoid plebiscite. First, Nehru claimed that the Maharaja's decision to accede to India was proper, legal and constitutional. When the Security Council discovered the circumstances which led to this accession, Nehru continued to stick to this legalistic stand, but demanded that Pakistan must be declared "an aggressor" before he could be expected to negotiate for a plebiscite. Again, as this argument failed to carry conviction, he found other excuses to prolong the dispute and to make the holding of a plebiscite more and more difficult. He started with a harangue to the world that India was no longer bound to honour her commitments as the agreement was reached "on the basis of a certain situation but the whole context in which these agreements were made" had changed because Pakistan was receiving military aid from America and was a participant in regional defence alliances like the SEATO and Baghdad Pact.

Here is my 9-point reply to India's Nehru:

(1) Few Pakistanis can forget for a moment the context of Hindu-Muslim relations in which their State was born and the perils and pitfalls that accompanied their struggle for a national homeland. What is more, even after Pakistan, Indian leaders continued to whip the enthusiasm of Hindu masses for a common

nationality. Nehru still sees Pakistan as a leprous spot on the fair face of India, an excrescential growth that must be weeded out, an ugly tumour that must be removed before Asoka's wheel can spin the chords of India's "geographical unity." For Nehru, Pakistan is still an artificial creation, a temporary phase, a passing episode in the history of India's struggle for independence —and unity. In moments of his secular ecstasy, he still hopes for the 'return of the native' to the Indian fold; he still believes in the day when the two countries will merge into one; he still advocates the supreme synthesis of existing diversities. Thus, Nehru's "strong disapproval" of Pakistan's decision to receive military aid from the United States and her participation in the Middle East defence pacts is couched in a language which is almost suggestive of a challenge to the integrity of Pakistan as a sovereign state. But, knowing India and her leaders and their intentions, who can blame Pakistan for fully utilizing the fund of goodwill in her favour and to befriend nations who are prepared to help in protecting her hard-won freedom?

(2) Nehru thinks that we are receiving American military aid in order to settle the Kashmir issue by force and, if need be, even to attack India, but he does not realize that, like other struggling Asian democracies, Pakistan is not free from external threat to her independence. Kashmir or no Kashmir, Pakistan would in any case need to modernise her army and she decided to welcome military aid not only to strengthen her defences but to save more rupees for national reconstruction. As a foreign observer puts it, "No modern and sovereign independent state can affored to neglect its own defence. Without announcing to the world exactly the purpose for which it requires adequate armament, it merely asserts, as a matter of reality, that, in the

absence of effective measures to achieve universal disarmament, its voice carries more weight in international polemics with force in the background than it does without. A poor country with ambitious plans for industrial and agricultural development holding these views cannot afford to look a gift horse in the mouth. If military aid is free, it must be accepted; and in its acceptance local resources are thereby released for other purposes."

(3) Both Pakistan and United States have made it clear that the military aid shall never be used for aggressive purposes. Even before this aid began to pour into Pakistan, President Eisenhower pointed out that "the Mutual Security legislation directed that if the aid was misused or abused, then the United States was bound to take action either within or without the United Nations to thwart aggression. Equipment or anything else received under the aid could be used only for internal security, for legitimate self-defence or for participation in the defence of an area of which the country formed a part." Explaining it further, the Pakistan Prime Minister said that the objective was "to achieve increased military strength and a higher degree of economic stability, designed to further international peace and security within the framework of the United Nations Charter."

Speaking more specifically, the United States representatives have even warned Pakistan that if the aid was misused and if they ever chose to attack India, it will be considered an act of aggression. They have made it plain that the United States would always help the victim of aggression—whether it is Pakistan or India. Such oft-repeated declarations are, in fact, taken—or mistaken—by many Pakistanis as United States' "neutral" attitude towards an ally.

Many in Pakistan expect the United States Government and her people to go a little out of their way to stand by a country which is not only the heart of Asia but perhaps America's best friend in this vast and vulnerable part of the world. In fact, they openly say that what we need is not sweet words, friendly consolations and diplomatic assurances but more active help from a country which is in a uniquely powerful position to show that supreme democratic courage and fearless righteous action to defend the freedom and save the honour of a people whom they have proclaimed a friend. In other words, without expecting the United States to favour a friend and deviate from the path of justice and equity, Pakistanis at least expect their powerful ally to play a more positive part in settling the Kashmir issue. As a spokesman of the Azad Kashmir Government said the other day, "the reported United States statement declaring their neutrality on the Kashmir issue has come as a rude shock. If neutrality means that, as regards the dispute between Pakistan and India, the United States will remain non-committal, America is resiling from its declared position. It is indeed tragic that the spokesmen and leaders of the United States of America sitting as the guardians of the bastion of democracy, have not once seen the issue in its correct perspective, namely, the right of self-determination for four million people of Kashmir."

Thus, Nehru's fears are as baseless as his allegation; and the hullabaloo he has started is designed more to create a scare than win a point in favour of his pacifist philosophy.

(4) Why has Pakistan chosen America for getting military aid and why has she become a member of collective security pacts sponsored by Western demo-

cracies? It is a question which even some Pakistanis sceptically ask to appreciate Pakistan's decision to prefer one power bloc to the other. The answer is that many Pakistanis sincerely believe that America, today, is leader of the Free World. They doubt the Communist claim that the only way to improve the lot of the common man is to let the State have total control over the life of the common man. This sort of totalitarianism, they think, destroys all democratic values and dries up the springs of creative life. In other words, they support the claim of the western democracies that it is possible to have maximum economic progress and general prosperity without bartering away personal and political freedom.

Confronted with a situation which I have described above, Pakistan was in search of friends. Even though Pakistan has her own distinctive Islamic ideology, she has fallen for friends in whom an average Pakistani Muslim finds a basic mental affinity and spiritual kinship. As an American friend put it, "On the basis of the similarity of ideals which motivated the founders of their nations Pakistan and America make natural allies. This kinship of experience and ideals makes Pakistan and America natural allies in their concerted opposition to present-day Communism. The founders of Pakistan and America both held an all important belief in God and His rule. Despite differences in form of worship and differences in the names given, there is the common conviction that it is God who is supreme and the highest duty of man is submission to the will of God."

(5) In the modern atom-propelled civilization, the difference between economic aid and military aid is as tenuous as it is misleading. The modern warfare is not so much fought in battlefields as in farms and

factories. The old distinction between combatants and non-combatants is gone for good. What about U.S. loans and gifts and economic help to India? During their first Five-Year Plan alone, American aid to India totalled 538 million dollars and in the current year alone, it is reported to be 275 million dollars. It was at least three times more than received by Pakistan during the same period. But economic aid is not enough; if Pakistan is getting arms from America, India is increasing her military potential every day and getting modern equipment from other countries. An idea about India's armament programme can be had from an order she has placed for "a substantial number" of single and two-seater Hunter Jet fighter aircraft. According to Hunters Managing Director, "the extent of the order would be normally in the neighbourhood of between 100 and 200 aircraft and between 20 million pounds and 30 million pounds sterling." And, what about the large number of Centurion tanks India has imported and the jet bombers she is buying ? Besides India's own ordnance factories are working three shifts a day. Thus, if India gets two locomotive engines in economic aid, it releases her foreign exchange to buy a tank; if she gets ten tractors, the money thereby saved helps her to order a bomber. Surely, it does not lie in the mouth of Mr. Nehru to present Pakistan as a mounting military menace to his country when he is hardly content with the status of a runner-up in this armament race.

(6) Mr. Nehru tries to justify his opposition to military pacts because he is prompted by "an honest desire to keep his country in isolation in the war of ideologies, indeed to keep as large an area in the world free from the fever of the war mentality."

Let us see how neutral is Mr. Nehru and what is the nature of his Nehrutrality. Nehru

thinks he believes in neutrality—active neutrality if he can practise it. He would neither like to toe this line nor toe that line because he believes in a line of his own. He describes it as a policy of non-alignment. But the essence of his neutrality is found to have more empirical than doctrinaire basis.

Nehru is prepared to accept Soviet aid without any pricks of conscience and yet he sees no harm in getting American aid in large quantities, subject only to the availability of shipping space.

Nehru is not prepared to give an assurance that he would not, one day, recognize Communist East Germany, and yet he admits that there is more freedom in West Germany than in its counterpart held by Soviet Russia.

He does not care for his critics who believe that, as he is trying to ride two horses, he is precariously standing between two stools; that he is running with the hare and hunting with the hound; that his double-faced diplomacy is like a double-edged weapon for it may have its rewards but it has also its risks.

Nehru wants to pursue a policy of negative diplomacy if it can assure him of positive gains. He is neither in favour of United States nor in favour of Soviet Russia but he would not like to lose the freindship of either. Lately, however, Mr. Nehru has become manifestly more neutral towards some than towards others. After the agreement to supply American arms to Pakistan, Nehru discovered that "India and Russia are brothers." Russian aid to India was being received "with a fanfare of publicity" and the American aid was being accepted "rather grudgingly."

Nehru rose like a meteor in the 'world of neutrality', but today his neutralism does not even appear

to be prompted by, what is called, "enlightened self-interest". Mr. Nehru's neutrality is a misnomer.

(7) It is believed that "Nehru voiced his fear that greatly increased armed forces in Pakistan, even though stationed outside Kashmir, would be in a position to strike into Kashmir territory at close objectives in a manner which must involve second thoughts on India's attitude to demilitarization." According to a neutral foreign observer, Nehru's apprehensions were based on the realization of "the military advantage which Pakistan enjoyed in the brief campaign of 1948 through the circumstances by which India was bound to reinforce her front, using only one indifferent and vulnerable road which ran west out of Jammu. In contrast, Pakistan could choose her point of attack from any one of several alternatives and not have far to move her troops in doing so."

Thus, for Nehru, the real issue was not American military aid but his Kashmir crusade. In this connection, there are two points which make the position clear to everybody, except Nehru.

According to the Security Council resolution of August 1948 and January 1949, the task of demilitarization was to be completed in two stages. During the Truce stage, the Pakistani forces and the bulk of the Indian army were to be simultaneously withdrawn from the State. The 'final disposal' of the remaining forces was a matter left to the Plebiscite Administrator. India has refused to conclude the Truce agreement even though Pakistan has secured the withdrawal of tribesmen and her nationals from Kashmir in spite of the fact that the provision relating to it was only to be implemented after the Truce agreement had been signed. Secondly, how does Pakistan's present military potential affect the position and number of forces in Azad Kashmir?

(8) There is a sinister truth in Nehru's declaration that "the situation has changed" after the supply of American arms and equipment to Pakistan.

Externally, the situation can best be assessed by reference to Nehru's initial reaction to the appointment of Fleet Admiral Nimitz as Plebiscite Administrator. Nehru stated, "He was appointed as Plebiscite Administrator about more than four years ago—much has happened in those three or four years. We must try to isolate the question of Kashmir from big power politics......It will not be fair to any of the big powers to ask them to supply a representative as a plebiscite administrator, however admirable he may be, because that would be embarrassing and needlessly creating suspicion, not in my mind necessarily, but in some other big powers' mind."

Thus, thanks to Nehru, Kashmir became an abject victim of the raging East-West ideological conflict and cold war psychosis. Thus, Kashmir has been projected into the context of a global strategy and yet this situation would not have arisen if there were no delay in settling the dispute. Thus, Nehru's delaying tactics are proving dangerous tactics. Thus, "the situation has changed" not because American military aid has brought "the cold war to India's door", but because Nehru's hysterical outburst about the move to provide air bases to the United States, if Kashmir became a part of Pakistan, has perhaps led Soviet Russia to believe that the only way to defeat American strategy in this part of the world is to sabotage every move to end the dispute. Thus, Soviet Russia decided to apply the bludgeon of veto each time the Kashmir issue came up for discussion in the Security Council. Perhaps, Russia was waiting for such a

moment. It has been rightly observed that, "As to Kashmir, she has been to the Communists one among many theatres of political and military warfare ever since the inception of the conflict. To them a divided Kashmir is another divided Korea, another divided Indo-China, another divided Germany, another divided Austria. If Kashmir were united through democratic process and under democractic rule, the Communist spearhead, aimed as it is today against the subcontinent, would be blunted, and this area would enter the sphere of the free world. No one realizes these international implications of the Kashmir conflict better than the Communists."

Thus, Kashmir has become yet another explosive spot in the ever-expanding cold war area, and many have begun to look upon this valley as a vital link in the defence chain of Asia. And, what is more, they have begun to view Pakistan as the weightiest eastern anchor for the free world, a real fortress, which is potentially capable of stopping communism in Asia. As Pakistan is "the hyphen that joins, the buckle that fastens" South-East Asia on one side and the Middle East on the other, she alone is in a uniquely strategic position to counter Communist pressures in this part of the world. They think so because Kashmir is bounded by India on the south, Afghanistan on the north-west and Red China on the north-east, and the only friendly, dependable and strong neighbour of Kashmir is Pakistan on its south-west. Thus, if Kashmir is a part of Pakistan, it means that Pakistan can not only defend itself and defend Kashmir but defend the entire belt stretching from Afghanistan to Sinkiang.

Internally, "the situation has changed" inasmuch as India finds herself today in a much better and

stronger position to hold on to Kashmir than she was in 1948. At the time when the Kashmir dispute was brought to the notice of the Security Council, Hyderabad was still a sore for India, there was economic unrest and even political instability, there were more than 500 big and small States to be integrated, and there were scores of partition issues to be settled. Thus, when India apprised the Security Council of the situation in Kashmir, her feigned attitude was one of complete surrender; then it turned into indifference and, today, she has become so daring and defiant that she is not even prepared to consider the question of plebiscite. So, if there has been any change in the "balance of force," it is not because of American military aid to Pakistan but because India finds herself today in a position to substitute the argument of force for the force of argument.

(9) And, finally, even if all this discussion is pointless and all these arguments meaningless, there is an inescapable challenge up to which Nehru can never stand. In the words of *Free Thinker*, an Indian periodical, "It is not understandable how certain recent developments like the U.S. military aid to Pakistan and the latter's association with the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact can be linked with the simple question of Kashmiris' right of self-determination to justify denial of this right to them. The Indian Prime Minister's statements clearly rule out the possibility of the resumption of negotiations between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir problem as, according to Mr. Nehru, the latter is 'out of the court' in this matter. Pakistan may be out of the court. So may be India. But the Kashmiris certainly are not. To deny fundamental rights to people by bringing in extraneous issues cannot help set the matters right. The saner course

to follow would, therefore, be to grant freedom to Kashmiris who have been clamouring for it for nearly a decade. India has given a pledge to them that it would be they who would finally decide the accession issue. It is her sacred duty to translate this promise into practice irrespective of what others say or do."

What is Nehru's answer to this simple question? How do developments in Pakistan affect the human and democratic right of the people of Kashmir to determine their political destiny? Why should they be betrayed, subjugated and condemned to live in bondage? Why should they not be saved from democratic death which Nehru has nearly prepared for them?

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNAL TROUBLE THREAT

'Stumbling is the excuse of a lame horse.'

CHAPTER VI

Communal Trouble Threat

THUS, we have seen that, for Nehru, the Kashmir issue is dead and there is no question of any settlement because Kashmir has become an integral and irrevocable part of India. In other words, there is no question of any plebiscite because there is no dispute and there is nothing left to settle. All those who have watched the development of the Kashmir case since 1948 would perhaps like to laugh at this piece of effrontery, but for the realization that any further delay in resolving the dispute might bring this part of the world within the perils of a bloody war. A plebiscite has been universally prescribed as the only peaceful means available to determine the final disposition of this disputed State but, Kashmir being his 'blindest spot', Nehru cannot see the reasons which the whole democratic world has seen and suggested to him.

Examining his reasons, we have found that, like the losing man in the gambler's den, Nehru seems to have become so desperate that in fits of sheer exasperation, he comes out periodically with all kinds of funny and fantastic rejoinders and rebuffs and retorts to his growing critics in every country, including his own. One of his latest is that plebiscite is ruled out because the situation has changed inasmuch as Pakistan has chosen to become a member of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO and was receiving military aid from the United States. Apart from the fact that these are

purely defensive alliances and one of the specific clauses of the United States-Pakistan Pact is that the aid cannot be used for aggressive purposes, how can this so-called changed "balance of force" between India and Pakistan denude the people of Kashmir of their inalienable human right to decide their political future?

But, Nehru and his agents have discovered yet another theory whose postulates betray the sadist mentality of those who go about justifying India's usurpation of Kashmir. It is said that any move to upset the integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union would inevitably lead to communal riots, with devastating consequences for the Muslims who are basking in the sunshine of Nehru's secular State. In other words, the 40-million Mussalmans living in India are held as hostages! It is a terror diplomacy the like of which has yet to be seen by the civilized world.

Nehru wants to continue Hindu hegemony over Muslim Kashmir in order to demonstrate the truth of his secular philosophy. But, he forgets that Kashmir is only a link in the chain of events which have indelibly marked the history of the subcontinent. And, the only way not to let Kashmir become a spring-board of conflicts that will inevitably lead to communal disturbances is to accept the implications of the principle that sanctioned the partition of the subcontinent into two separate sovereign States. Since Nehru cannot efface history, let him face it and accept the logic of the separatist movement which culminated in the creation of Pakistan.

The bubble of communal trouble threat is too transparent to need any pricking. Nehru talks of communal trouble as if perfect communal peace and Hindu-

Muslim harmony has always prevailed in this part of the world.

The seeds of communalism were perhaps laid as early as 1857 when the Mutiny was interpreted by the British as a Muslim conspiracy against them. As the Hindus became pet children of the British to be pampered, Muslims felt a real danger to themselves both as a community, and as a religious group and cultural entity. In this patronage of Hindus and persecution of Muslims lay the beginning of the Pakistan movement whose intellectual forerunner was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. His thesis was that the only way to revitalise the dying Mussalmans was to co-operate with the British and the only way to co-operate was to establish "communication" between the "rulers" and the "subjects". The best means of this communication, according to him, was Education—learning the western languages, arts and sciences. So, he founded the Aligarh Muslim University which was dubbed a communal institution.

The end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century saw the gradual growth of the All-India National Congress. In spite of its Hindu character and complexion, the Muslim masses and leaders liked to associate themselves with an organization which was pledged to liberate the country from foreign yoke. But, it was soon discovered that the Congress was fighting for Hindu freedom alone, and its goal of independence would only lead to the perpetual dependence of Muslims on an openly anti-Muslim majority community. All unity efforts proved abortive, because no basic unity ever existed. At the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1930, poet Iqbal who became its President, demanded a country within a country—a sovereign Muslim state carved out of India.

After relating the genesis of this demand, he declared:

> "*I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power, for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.*"

The Hindu press howled, but it had no argument except invective to condemn this demand. The Hindu leaders hit back and called it a blasphemous idea whose progenitors were either lunatics or traitors. But these vile attacks served only one purpose—the gulf widened, the antagonism grew and Hindus and Muslims became more and more separate identities. Then came Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, who declared:

> "*We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitude and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation.*"

But, when Jinnah stood up and said that Mussalmans were a nation and no nation could live without a house of its own, the Hindus laughed at us, mocked at us and ridiculed the idea of Pakistan. To them, Pakistan was a reactionary move, Jinnah was a

reactionary man and Muslim League was a reactionary body. Pakistan? Oh no—it is a foolish dream, a fantastic project, a vain ideal, a bargaining counter, an impossible demand, a megalomaniac's idea!

But Pakistan soon became a physical reality and a big nation state appeared on the map of the world. Making their way through pools of blood and walking in the shadow of swords, Muslims set out in search of a home they had never seen but which, they knew, was their real home. Many kissed the dust before they could touch the homeland; and many reached Pakistan only to perish in Pakistan. They died, but the whole atmosphere reverberated with the echoes of "Long Live Pakistan." They died with a lingering smile on their parched lips; they had died with the pride of nationhood, a sense of unity with the whole, and faith in the destiny of the country and the people to whom they were struggling to belong.

This is the story of Muslim struggle for freedom. It was a prolonged and two-pronged fight—fight against foreign domination and fight against the Hindus who never concealed their contempt for Muslim nationalist aspirations and to whom political unity meant the permanent rule of the majority community.

Thus, at every stage of this struggle, there was "communal trouble" and all unity appeals lost their appeal, as the cleavage became deeper and deeper with growing Hindu opposition to the united Muslim demand for a national homeland. Thus, there was "communal trouble" the day the first shot was fired in the battle of independence which began in 1857. There was "communal trouble" when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan set out to save the Muslims from the worst consequences of the early British policy. There was "communal trouble" when the Indian Congress Party came into

being as a Hindu-dominated organization. There was "communal trouble" when, with the end of 30-month Hindu Congress rule in seven Indian provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935, Muslims celebrated the "Day of Deliverance." There was "communal trouble" when representatives of 100-million Muslims met in Lahore in 1940 and demanded Pakistan. There was "communal trouble" when the Muslim League decided to launch "Direct Action" if other means failed to convince the "one nation" protagonists of separation as the only solution of the conflict which became fiercer as the day of liberation came nearer. And, on this day, and the days that followed the fateful August 15, 1947, there was "communal trouble", because the enemies of Pakistan were determined to kill it before it was born.

At every milestone of British surrender to self-rule demands and at every point of political parleys to resolve the Hindu-Muslim problem, there was "communal trouble." The birth of the Muslim League, the Morley-Minto Reforms, the Lucknow Pact, the Khilafat Movement, the Fourteen Points, the Round Table Conferences, the British Cabinet Mission, the June 3 Plan—all these political landmarks in the history of independence assumed, sooner or later, a communal character because the Hindus were determined to strike a *bania* bargain at the cost of Muslims.

In spite of all this, Nehru wants to tear off the pages of history and write his own script on the birth of the Muslim nation which, he still believes, is merely "an emotional state of mind". And, for Nehru, the "oneness" of India is not only a mental obsession or an intellectual idea but a political ideal to be passionately pursued and realized.

The fact is that Indian leaders have not mentally reconciled themselves to the partition of the subcontinent. They still believe that the creation of Pakistan was a sacrilegious act to vivisect their dear *Hindmata* (mother India). The circumstances that accompanied and immediately followed the birth of Pakistan is the story of a series of attempts to undo Pakistan before it became strong and stable. Boundary line questions, evacuee property issues, trade barriers, withholding Pakistan's due share in undivided India's libraries, museums, official records, railway stores, ordnance factories, and finally the Kashmir and canal waters disputes—all these were understood to be vital ingredients of a design to make Pakistan ripe for ruin. And, every time there was a popular resentment in Pakistan against Indian policies, they brought their troops right to the border. This show of force cut no ice but it surely cut deeper the wounds that needed to be balmed. It inevitably let to more mutual fear and frustration, more suspicion and distrust, more ill-will and hatred. The latest is their opposition to our participation in Baghdad Pact and SEATO, not because it makes India weaker, but because it makes Pakistan stronger.

On the other hand, Pakistan has seized every opportunity to befriend India. Forgetting past bitterness and rancour, the people who lined up in thousands on both sides of Karachi's McLeod Road even shouted "Nehru Zindabad" (long live Nehru) when the Indian Prime Minister's visit to Pakistan capital in 1953 held out hope of better relations between the two countries. Each successive Prime Minister of Pakistan has openly stretched out his hand for peace and friendship with India. But even Pakistan's "no-war declaration" offers have been subjected by Nehru to a legal quibbling which always raised a

fruitless debate on what is negotiation, mediation and arbitration as peaceful means of finding solutions to all outstanding disputes.

Thus, what India and India's Nehru need above all is a change of heart, a basic re-orientation of their attitude towards Pakistan. The Commonwealth and the United Nations of which both India and Pakistan are members and even technical organizations like the International Bank can only plead, appeal and suggest possible solutions, but they have little executive power to enforce decisions. What is required is a more congenial mental climate. There is a growing belief in Pakistan that if Nehru could prove himself capable of this 'moral metamorphosis' and if he did not 'maltreat' his small but sincerest and nearest neighbour, the two countries could be as free and as friendly as the United States and Canada.

But there are no signs of this friendship because, even today, Nehru not only attacks Pakistan, not only attacks the ideology of Pakistan, but challenges the very basis of separation which brought Pakistan into being. To him, even today, Pakistan appears as a country where fanaticism is swallowed as food, where orthodoxy is preached as a code, where bigotry is practised as an art and where religion is administered as a dope. He sees, even today, in the present-day Pakistan, a violent struggle between religion and democratic forces, between the mullah and enlightened classes, between orthodoxy and liberalism, between Islam and modernism.

But, what is his own record? He assured the world that India would be a hundred per cent. secular State, and yet it turned out to be a hundred per cent. Hindudom.

In 1953, more than 10,000 Muslims were forcibly converted to Hinduism in Khadil, Bombay, by the Arya Samajists, a rabidly communal and avowedly anti-Muslim militant Hindu organization.

As late as September 1956, the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha had the cheek to declare in a public statement that 50,000 non-Hindus had become Hindus in less than three years.

More than 400 communal riots occurred in India since April 8, 1950, that is, after the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India signed an agreement pledging to give full protection to minorities. One of the clauses of this agreement was to discourage the entry of more Muslims into Pakistan and entry of more Hindus into India. But, while few Hindus have been forced to migrate to India, there is a constant influx of Muslim refugees from across the border. Like drops of water trickling down from a flask, they are entering Pakistan every day in an unending stream via Khokrapar. They would perhaps never hazard the long trekking journey to Pakistan if Nehru could only guarantee physical safety for their lives.

In its issue dated December 24, 1954, *Sidq*, an Indian newspaper, reported that "the result of the National Defence Academy Examination held in June, 1954, has just been announced. The number of successful candidates is 129 which, as usual, does not include a single Muslim. Another list of 88 successful candidates for the Indian Air Force has been issued, but Muslims figure nowhere."

The same paper reported in its issue dated August 26, 1955, that "there is not a single Muslim among the successful candidates in the examination held for recruitment to the United Provinces Service (Political) and United Provinces Police Service."

Thus, why is Nehru scared of communal trouble in Kashmir when there is plenty of it in India!

But the fear of communal trouble, if there are visible prospects of Kashmir voting for accession to Pakistan, may be justified in the sense that there already are preparations for converting the Muslim majority in Kashmir into a minority by settling in the Valley more and more Hindus and Sikhs. The Hindu newspapers are seriously suggesting it as a "lasting solution" of the Kashmir problem. They openly say that if Pakistan asks for a plebiscite, they shall have a plebiscite—but at a time when there will be few Muslims left in the State to cast a communal vote in favour of their Muslim neighbouring country. They even cite the examples of Hindu minority States like Kapurthala where the Muslims were either killed or driven out to take refuge in Pakistan. The latest is that the Hindus are being encouraged by the Indian Government to settle in Kashmir "with loans and rehabilitation grants." The new settlers are promised Rs. 6,000 before they leave and Rs. 1,900 on arrival in Kashmir, besides business loans and other grants.

But all this means nothing to Nehru, for his secular passion is as insatiable as ever. Addressing the All-India Congress Committee in July 1951, Nehru said, "it is not Kashmir, therefore, but rather a much deeper conflict that comes in the way of friendly relations between India and Pakistan and the situation is a grave one. We cannot give up the basic ideal which we have held so long and on which the whole conception of our State is founded." In other words, for Nehru, Kashmir is a laboratory and 4,000,000 Kashmiris are so many test tubes in which he wants to pour all types of chemical mixtures for the acid test of his secular experiments.

If Nehru is determined to fight this battle of ideals and make Kashmir the playground of his philosophy, there is bound to be communal trouble. I say so because he shall have to wage this war of ideology with the weapons his Hindu countrymen used against Muslims before and after the birth of Pakistan.

It is strange that secular Nehru has imparted a communal tinge to the Kashmir dispute though, democratically speaking, it is primarily a question of conceding to a people the right of self-determination. In this connection, it is pertinent to note that the present Muslim Prime Minister of India-held Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, his friends and members of his family are making frantic efforts to ensure that Kashmir remains a part of India, and, on the other hand, reputed Hindu leaders like Pandit Premnath Bazaz, the Hindu President of the End-Kashmir-Dispute Committee and Hindu Vice-President of the Kashmir Political Conference are not only advocating plebiscite under U.N. auspices but are openly canvassing support for the Valley's accession to Pakistan.

If the Kashmir issue is democratically settled, there can be no communal tension as there are minorities both in India and Pakistan. But Nehru sees the spectre of communal bloodletting because he is resolved to keep Kashmir at any cost.

CHAPTER VII

VOTES AND VERDICT

'You cannot fool all the people all the time.'

CHAPTER VII

Votes And Verdict

WHEN all his defences crack, and he is unable to face up to the challenge of opposition, Mr. Nehru comes out with the familiar weapon in his armoury—the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir has voted for accession to India. Speaking in Indian Parliament on September 4, 1957, Mr. Nehru tried to browbeat all his critics by a simple declaration that there was no need of a plebiscite as two elections already held in Kashmir "represented public viewpoint in the State." When he is reminded of his assurance that this verdict would not "come in the way" of the Security Council resolution, Mr. Nehru is surprised. When he is reminded of clause 8 of the resolution calling upon both India and Pakistan "to refrain from any action likely to prejudice a just and peaceful settlement," Mr. Nehru is angry. When the world press point out to him that the Assembly was not a reliable barometer of public opinion in Kashmir, Mr. Nehru is pained. When his own countrymen urge him to reconsider the whole position, Mr. Nehru is bewildered. And, when Pakistan tells him that both the elections held in Kashmir were farcical, Mr. Nehru is, of course, very furious.

From the very beginning, it has been made clear to Mr. Nehru that "any attempt to bring about accession, except through the agreed plebiscite, is a violation of India's commitments to the Security Council"

and contrary to the assurances given to the United Nations.

In a resolution adopted on March 30, 1951, the Security Council observed "that the Governments of India and Pakistan have accepted the provisions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, and have re-affirmed their desire that the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations."

Further, observing "that on October 27, 1950, the General Council of the 'All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference' adopted a resolution recommending the convening of a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of determining the 'future shape' and affiliations of the State of Jammu and Kashmir", and "that action is proposed to convene such a Constituent Assembly and that the area from which such a Constituent Assembly will be elected is only a part of the whole territory of Jammu and Kashmir," it reminded "the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in the Security Council resolutions of April 21, 1948, June 3, 1948, and March 14, 1950, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed in the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations."

Finally, it affirmed "that the convening of a Constituent Assembly recommended by the General

Council of the 'All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference' and any action that assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle."

When the Government of Pakistan protested against the convening of a fake Constituent Assembly to give a final verdict on the issue of accession, Sir B. N. Rau, the then Permanent Representative of India in the United Nations, assured that "his Government's view was that while the Constituent Assembly may, if it so desired, express an opinion on the question of accession, it could take no decision on it."

Later, another Indian representative reiterated that "so far as the Government of India was concerned the Constituent Assembly for Kashmir was not intended to prejudice the issue before the Security Council or to come in its way."

In a broadcast from All-India Radio, on September 8, 1951, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Member, Legislative Council, Uttar Pradesh, said: "There is some confusion in some quarters that elections to the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir are a step to forestall the issue of a free plebiscite. This is a totally misguided and mistaken view of things. As our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, has himself announced in Parliament, the present Constituent Assembly in Kashmir is being set up as a legislative machinery to secure better administration of the State. It has nothing to do with the big and final constitutional issues relating to the State's future and the representation of the people on the question of accession."

The popular "Free Thinker", New Delhi, observed in an editorial which appeared in its issue of April 7, 1956:

"The claim that the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir has validated, at least in the constitutional sense, accession to India, thereby eliminating the need for a solution of the dispute on the basis of a free and impartial plebiscite constitutes a violation of the principles of democracy and amounts to taking refuge under an undemocratic practice for the patent fact that the Assembly was not an elected body and does not enjoy an iota of popular support. Its decisions as such cannot be an expression of the will of the State people."

As the President of Kashmir Democratic Union said in a statement issued in New Delhi on September 5, 1957, both the elections of which Nehru boasts were bogus and could not conceivably represent the popular currents of opinion in Kashmir.

Secondly, newspapers throughout the world have testified to the fact that the elections were conducted in an atmosphere of terror, with Indian troops standing by to ensure that Nehru's men are returned without opposition. With police at the polls, and a bullet at the back of a ballot, the elections could not be "good", as Nehru claims.

Thirdly, the Assembly which consigned Kashmir to Nehru's paternal care could hardly claim any democratic status as not only large sections of the population in the India-held Kashmir refused to participate in this stage-managed electoral drama, but it did not and could not represent that part of this split State where

the people revolted and formed an Azad (free) government of their own. But in spite of all this, Mr. Nehru believes that the Assembly could not be more representative as all the 75 members of this august body were elected unopposed!

Nehru calls Pakistan a "thief" because she "stole" a part of the territory which "belonged" to India, but is it not daylight robbery to assure the world and the United Nations that India is bound by plebiscite, that the convening of the "Constituent Assembly" is not for the purpose of deciding the final disposition of the State, and, then, to make its ratification of accession by his henchmen the basis of her claim to the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir? But India's spokesmen need not have a good memory to be liars; their policies may be founded on fraud but they are working 'according to plan.' It is a no-plebiscite plan; they are not giving up the Constituent Assembly argument because they know that the alternative means a reference to the people and, what is more, they realise that this bogus body ratified an accession which was as fraudulently offered as it was accepted.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GAG AND THE GUILLOTINE

'Murder will out'.

CHAPTER VIII

The Gag And the Guillotine

Kashmir, today, is a police state, a large prison, an armed camp, run by puppets and guarded by goondas. There are 100,000 Indian troops to look after 4,000,000 Kashmiris. But Nehru thought that since the army has its own ways of dealing with men and situations, this force should be suitably supplemented by quasi-military units in the larger interests of the State people. Thus, they have today an impressive array of forces—the Indian troops, the Militia, Home Guards, the Central Reserve Police, the Kashmir Reserve Police, the Kashmir Special Police and the Kashmir Regular Police. They are there in the valley to promote the welfare of a people who, to quote Nehru, have made "unprecedented progress" since the Maharaja developed colic trouble and decided to accede his State to India. But, Bakhshi, the present Prime Minister of Kashmir, was not satisfied. He thought of another innovation—the Peace Brigade. As the name connotes, they are to maintain peace—at any cost. Shoot at sight, kill at random, but peace must prevail in the valley.

But peace at what price ? They soon discovered that there was another army—an army of unarmed men, women and children, in search of freedom. But, what is their fate ? Gripped by fear, the harassed and hapless people of Kashmir live in deadly peril of any-

thing that might happen to them, any moment. Nehru's hirelings and hooligans parade the lanes of every village and streets of every town. They have an eternal date with the people, to see that there is no trouble. But trouble there is, all the time, everywhere. Plebiscite has become a blasphemous word and all those who utter it must be punished. They are not taken as political agitators but treated as confirmed criminals; their movements are watched and their houses are searched on the slightest suspicion. But this is not the only price they have to pay; they are penalized in many more ways. If they happen to be in the police force, they are fired; if they are in the civil service, they are at least demoted; if they are in business, the contracts are cancelled and all facilities withdrawn. They can, of course, have as much liberty of speech, freedom of expression and economic relief as they want if, with it, they do not want plebiscite. But the fight for plebiscite goes on, in spite of detentions without trial, and persecution without prosecution. As more and more small nationalist groups are growing and flouting local authorities subservient to New Delhi and openly demanding a plebiscite, there is more repression, more suppression, more corruption. And it is not only the humble Kashmiris and the unknown political workers who are put behind the bars; all their leaders are clapped in jail.

Years ago, when he was Diwan of Jammu and Kashmir State, Sir Gopalaswami Ayyanger invited a group of Kashmiri leaders to an informal tea party. One of them was introduced as "Sher-i-Kashmir". With cynical looks and a broad grin on his face, the Diwan remarked, "you are the lion of Kashmir. There are only two places for a lion. One is the jungle, the other is the cage. Where would you want to be."



Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, the "Lion of Kashmir," is seen here in an open jeep on his way to Hazratbal Shrine, soon after his release, on January 13, 1958 (He has since been re-arrested)

But the jeers soon turned into cheers; subsequent events proved that he was the Lion of Kashmir and when he roared, the valley echoed, the people came out in thousands, and followed him. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, the first Prime Minister of Kashmir after the partition of the subcontinent, and a tried lieutenant, old political ally and personal friend of Nehru, has been languishing in jail for the last five years without trial. He was arrested in August 1953 when he refused to be a handy tool in the hands of the Indian Government and declared that the final disposition of the State could only be decided after the issue of accession had been referred to the people who should freely express their will in a plebiscite under U.N. auspices. He has been, for many years, the virtual spearhead of the freedom movement in the valley. But the moment he questioned the legal validity and doubted the political wisdom of Kashmir's incorporation into the Indian Union without ascertaining the wishes of the people, he was thrown out and a stooge was found and installed as Prime Minister of the State.

Abdullah was released on January 8, this year, but, as he put it, "I have been released — technically speaking, but for all practical purposes I continue to be a prisoner. Telephone, telegram, even traffic and transport facilities are denied to me." After 112-day parole, he was re-arrested. Shaikh Abdullah was determined to act like a lion and not behave like a cat; the Nehru Government lost no time in deciding whether to let him go to the 'jungle' or confine him in a 'zoo'. They took this decision without any fear of loss of face, as perhaps they found that their face was fairly tarred by the reports appearing in foreign newspapers.

Mirza Afzal Beg, Abdullah's right-hand man and Pandit Premnath Bazaz, Nehru's co-religionist and cultural brother, have also been jailed for canvassing support in favour of a plebiscite. In fact all opposition leaders, representing the Plebiscite Front, the Kashmir Political Conference, the Kashmir Democratic Union, the Kisan Mazdoor Conference, and the End-Kashmir-Dispute Committee have been incarcerated. But, even in prison, they have no peace; some of them have been brutally insulted and abused, beaten and intimidated. They are not treated as ordinary culprits but "traitors" and the disturbances that followed their arrests were described by the Indian Government as "attempts to undermine the State."

Even foreign correspondents of newspapers are shadowed; and if they appear determined to leave the 'shadow' in order to grasp the 'substance' they are formally interrogated and externed from the State. But, perhaps, the only redeeming feature of the whole thing is that in spite of stringent censorship and restrictive measures to conceal their guilt of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, Truth has been able to shout from Banihal tops.

Here is the latest report of conditions in Occupied Kashmir as disclosed in a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council by Mr. Aly Khan, Pakistan's Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

"I have been directed by my Government to draw the attention of the Security Council to reign of terror that has lately been launched by the so-called Government of Indian Occupied Kashmir with the approval and support of the Government of India

ostensibly to maintain law and order but in reality to crush the growing demand of the people for a free and impartial plebiscite in the State. Ever since Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah's release from Kud jail after a detention of about 4½ years without trial, illegal and unconstitutional steps have been and are being taken by the administration to terrorise the supporters of Shaikh Abdullah, who are not prepared to accept the alleged accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to India as valid, final or irrevocable. This terrorisation is being carried on through members of Hindu and Sikh militant organisations who are actively assisted by the State militia, the so-called Peace Brigade, which in fact is a notorious terrorist organisation, and contingents of the Central Reserve Police Force. Shaikh Abdullah himself has been receiving threats to his life and property from these hooligans. Speeches have been made by the Indian Home Minister, Pandit Pant, and the Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, and some other prominent Indian leaders declaring any person in the State of Jammu and Kashmir who challenges the finality of the State's accession to India to be guilty of treason. In this way the State Government has been encouraged to resort to violence and outrage.

The number of those arrested is reported to amount to thousands. The entire Organising Committee of the Political Conference comprising 40 members, with the exception of three, who have already been exiled, have been imprisoned. In addition, six Presidents of the Organisation are also in jail. All the five Presidents of the Plebiscite Front along with its entire executive body have been kept in detention.

The Press has been completely silenced so as to make it impossible for any criticism of Government

policy to be published in any local or foreign paper. Any person raising his voice against the government is regarded as a public enemy and is severely punished. Section 144, Cr. P. C. and Rule 50 of the Defence Rules have been imposed in Srinagar, Islamabad, Baramula and other parts of the valley of Kashmir prohibiting the holding of public meetings, the taking out of processions, and the assembling of five or more persons in public places including mosques. Food scarcity has been created to unnerve the masses and to serve as a deterrent to those who may follow an anti-Government policy.

In short, life in Indian Occupied Kashmir has become a nightmare. In sheer desperation the people have launched a civil disobedience movement and courted arrests by defying the bans placed on civil liberties. A large number of hunger-stricken people are crossing over into Azad Kashmir territory bringing reports of all kinds of excesses and atrocities being perpetrated on the civil population. These reports cannot but inflame feelings in Pakistan. The situation is thus becoming dangerous and will continue to be so unless the puppet-Bakhshi regime which is acting under instructions from India, stops its reign of terror.

It will, no doubt, be appreciated that the conditions now obtaining in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir clearly violate the UNCIP resolution of 5th January, 1949, which *inter alia* provides as preliminaries to the holding of the plebiscite, that no restrictions will be placed on the legitimate political activity throughout the State; that all subjects of the State regardless of the creed, caste or party, shall be safe and free in expressing their views and that there shall be freedom of the press, speech and assembly; that political prisoners

will be released; that minorities in all parts of the State will be accorded adequate protection and that there will be no victimisation. Similarly, the Security Council resolution of 2nd December, 1957, also stands violated, since under this resolution both the Governments of India and Pakistan should refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation and would appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations."

And here is the non-Pakistan version; a few comments, letters and statements, by Indian nationals and Occupied Kashmir leaders, which throw lurid light on the picture of this valley as often painted by Nehru.

In an open letter to Mr. Nehru, Mr. P. L. Lakhanpal, President, End-Kashmir-Dispute Committee, says, *inter alia:*

"You have laid particular emphasis on the question of the happiness and freedom of the people. Your actions, I beg to submit with due respects, in fact show an utter disregard of both. The people of Kashmir today writhe in pain and agony under the corruptest, the most tyrannical and the most hated regime superimposed upon them with the support of Indian bayonets and guns...."

In a communication addressed to the Government of India, Pandit Premnath Bazaz, the Hindu President of the Kashmir Democratic Union, now under preventive detention, has revealed that a member of the Advisory Board which gave him a personal hearing

in November last told him: "The very fact that I demand a free and impartial plebiscite to decide the accession issue was enough to declare me anti-Indian because holding of a plebiscite would result in the whole State joining Pakistan."

In a joint memorandum, submitted to the United Nations Secretary-General, Dag Hammerskjold, during his recent visit to India, the Kashmir Democratic Union and the Kashmir Kisan Mazdoor Conference demanded that United Nations "should take prompt and effective steps to enable the people of Kashmir to exercise their right of self-determination democratically and peacefully." The memorandum gives a graphic account of the conditions in the Occupied Kashmir. It says: "Today we find Kashmir presenting a sorry spectacle of political persecution, economic suffering, cultural degeneration and intellectual regimentation."

The Bakhshi regime, it adds, "has been thrust on the State people quite against their wishes. Not content with the police force, the Government has raised private army called the Peace Brigade to beat down the opposition. In Kashmir they are known as Storm Troopers of the National Conference ruling party."

In a pamphlet issued in New Delhi in August 1957, the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front made the following demands:

(1) "That the Government of India must give up the policy of gaining time and create a climate to enable the people of Kashmir to determine their future through a fair and free plebiscite.

"(2) That Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah and other political prisoners in Kashmir should be released immediately.

"(3) That the atmosphere of coercion, terror and tyranny and the policy of indiscriminate arrests should be given up.

"(4) That an impartial commission of enquiry to conduct a thorough probe into the atrocities perpetrated over a period of four years should be appointed.

"(5) That an agency to arrange the plebiscite in the State should be inducted forthwith."

Here is a report which appeared in *The Statesman*, New Delhi, datelined Jammu, in its issue of February 5, 1956:

"A communication to Mr. Hammerskjold, the U.N. Secretary-General, has been sent by the Vice-President of the Kashmir Plebiscite Front, from here requesting him to exercise the influence of your good offices in the highest organization of the world to let the millions of this most unfortunate land of ours exercise their right of self-determination in a free and unfettered atmosphere."

"The Front Vice-President alleges 'complete denial of democracy' and the prevalence of 'black laws unknown to the whole progressive world' in the State and describes the circumstances in which 'the present regime here was pitchforked into office' and reminds the U.N. Secretary-General of the resolution passed on March 30, 1951, by the Security Council."

In an open letter to the Members of Indian Parliament, Mridula Sara Bai, a well-known Indian social worker, says, *inter alia:*

"You should, therefore, use your good offices in persuading Bakhshi Sahib (Prime Minister of India-held Kashmir) and his colleagues in the present National Conference to give up their present lawless approach to opposition. Surely, the ways of dealing with emergency situations through democratic process are different from those of an authoritarian regime which acts and behaves as an imposed government. The crisis cannot be solved by violence, hush-money or bullying tactics."

The *London Times* correspondent in Srinagar sent the following report to his paper which appeared in the issue, dated May 14, 1957:

"The Kashmir Political Conference, an opposition party advocating Kashmir's accession to Pakistan, has appealed for 'direct, effective, immediate, and appropriate action' to end the 10-year-old deadlock over Kashmir.

"A resolution passed at a meeting last night urged the United Nations to take note of the highly delicate situation in Kashmir. The resolution added: 'The self-determination right of the people can neither be subjected to any circumscribing conditions nor can it ever be barred by lapse of time. A free, fair and impartial plebiscite alone will release them from the iron grip of strangulating restrictions, political persecution, detention without trial, physical and mental torture, economic chaos, moral degeneration, administrative corruption, Government coercion, and a highly straining state of uncertainty and insecurity.'

"The resolution also stated that Mr. Jarring had failed because India was as 'intransigent as ever over facing a free, fair and impartial plebiscite'."

The following three reports take the wind out of Nehru's sails. They appeared in *Times of India*, Bombay, during the first half of 1957. They all bear a Srinagar dateline and were sent by their own correspondent:

"SRINAGAR, APRIL 8.—Delegates of the Plebiscite Front and the Kashmir Political Conference, opposition parties, met the British Labour Leader, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, today. They are reported to have told Mr. Bevan about the alleged lack of civil liberties, repression of opposition parties, and incarceration of a large number of their members. They added that a majority of Kashmiris stood for accession to Pakistan and demanded free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir."

"SRINAGAR, MAY 3.—The Political Conference here yesterday repeated its demand for an immediate plebiscite, the evacuation of all troops from the State, the release of all detenus and the restoration of civil liberties. According to a spokesman of the party, a large number of prominent workers of the Plebiscite Front have joined the Political Conference."

"SRINAGAR, MAY 6.—The Plebiscite Front has declared that the Jarring mission failed on account of the "unreasonable attitude and intransigence" of the Indian Government. The Front's executive, at its meeting yesterday, passed a resolution criticizing Mr. Nehru in severe terms and accusing him of double-dealing with Kashmiris. The Front also expressed its 'alarm and grave concern' on Kashmir being included

in the North Zonal Council which it characterized as a 'deep-rooted conspiracy' to end Kashmiris' identity and individuality and to reduce its Muslim majority to an insignificant minority."

How dare he visit Srinagar, wondered many people. Nehru dared, after four years, and visited the capital of Kashmir in the second week of September, 1957. As was expected, he was greeted with black flags, battered by plebiscite slogans and surrounded by pro-Pakistan crowd. According to a Srinagar datelined report in the *Times of India* issue of September 15, 1957, the Kashmir Plebiscite Front presented a long memorandum to the great leader in which they reminded Nehru of all his "previous pledges" which he had perhaps forgotten to honour. The memorandum pleaded that "the ten year old uncertainty in Kashmir" should give place to something better because "the experiment of guns and gold has been vigorously tried for long and failed." The Kashmir Plebiscite Front is one of the big four organizations working for common objective and is run by the friends and followers of Shaikh Abdullah.

In a front page editorial, "*The Humanist*", an independent periodical of Calcutta, says in its issue of May, 1958:

"Sheikh Abdullah's re-arrest is a flagrant violation of the basic principles of democracy. This violation of democracy should be recognised as being all the more repugnant by liberal-minded people in this country since it has been made possible by tacit connivance of the Indian Government. Neither pressure of armed force nor continued bribe of economic assistance appears to have reconciled the Kashmiris to the integration of their state with India. If India is uncompromisingly opposed to a plebiscite in Kashmir, the

only plausible explanation is that India is afraid of the result of a plebiscite. By re-arresting Sheikh Abdullah and then refusing him an open trial Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad has only shown himself to be far more narrow-minded and dangerous to the cause of democracy in Kashmir and in India".

In an interview story published in *Blitz*, Bombay, on January 17, 1958, Shaikh Abdullah said :

"I have been the victim of a conspiracy. I have been stabbed in the back, put in prison without a trial, refused the protection of the law granted to every thief and murderer. Behind my back, the Government of Bhupats, and decoits that was put in power with the help of Indian bayonets did everything conceivable to kill me politically. My people were all the time subjected to orgies of terror, violence, even rape. The Government of Bakhshi and his goondas must be wiped out. First of all, Bakhshi has usurped the Prime Ministership by means of a foul, lawless and unconstitutional coup. His facade of constitution, Constituent Assembly and the rest is a fraud. He rules with the help of Indian bayonets."

Nehru thinks there is nothing wrong with Kashmir which is safe in India's hands. Perhaps; but it is no more safe than the kid given by its mother to a jackal for safe-keeping. The jackal thought that the safest place was its own stomach. So, Nehru has swallowed Kashmir, but if he tries to digest it, he alone shall be responsible for the dangerous, dyspeptic consequences.

CHAPTER IX

THE PLEBISCITE PROMISE

'A liar must have a good memory.'

CHAPTER IX

The Plebiscite Promise

THUS, we have seen that right from the moment the Security Council took cognizance of the Kashmir dispute up to Graham's second mission, India has used every strategem and resorted to every device to deviate from the original position. The manifest purpose of all this ingenious casuistry is to dodge the day of plebiscite.

And, yet, the principal Security Council resolutions are emphatically clear on the subject. The UNCIP had given "careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir," and the resolutions were passed after the Commission had appreciated the points raised by the representatives of India and Pakistan. The members of the Commission were fully aware of the alleged charges levelled by India against Pakistan and were fully conscious of the speeches delivered on the subject before the resolutions were drafted. The resolutions were passed after securing India's tacit agreement to its various clauses and her representatives have never challenged the binding nature of this agreement.

As the ultimate objective of all the Security Council resolutions was to create conditions conducive to the holding of an early and fair plebiscite, let us see how far India is bound by these resolutions and what

international commitments she and her leaders had made in the past to honour their pledge to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

In his reply to the Maharaja's letter despatched on October 27, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India, stated on behalf of the Government of India:

> "*Consistently with their policy that in the case of any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state, it is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a conference of the people.*"

Perhaps not satisfied with this clarification, Nehru promptly sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Attlee, in the course of which he said:

> "*I should like to make it clear that question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India. Our view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or state must be decided in accordance with the wishes of people and we adhere to this view.*"

On receiving this telegram, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom sent a clearly-worded message to the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom in Pakistan to be communicated to the Prime Minister of Pakistan:

> "*I have received message from Prime Minister of India stating that grave situation has developed*

in Kashmir......He adds that he would like to make it clear that the question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India."

Next day, Mr. Nehru despatched the following telegram to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan:

"*I wish to assure you that the action Government of India has taken has been forced upon them by circumstances and imminent and grave danger to Srinagar. They have no desire to intervene in affairs of Kashmir State after raiders have been driven away and law and order established. In regard to accession also it has been made clear that this is subject to reference to the people of State and their decision. Government of India have no desire to impose any decision and will abide by people's wishes but those cannot be ascertained till peace and law and order prevail.*"

On the last day of October, the same year, the Prime Minister of India despatched yet another telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan:

"*Kashmir's accession to India was accepted by us at the request of the Maharaja's Government and the most numerously representative popular organization in the State which is predominantly Muslim. Even then it was accepted on condition that as soon as the invader has been driven from Kashmir soil and law and order restored the people of Kashmir would decide the question of accession. It is open to them to accede to either Dominion then.*

"*Our assurance that we withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision regarding the future of*

this State to the people of the State is not merely a pledge to your Government but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world."

Mr. Gandhi visited Srinagar, Kashmir's capital city, for the first time at the age of 77, and operated upon the Maharaja's spiritual *Guru* to prepare the ground for the State's accession to India. But the trend of popular opinion forced the Mahatma to declare:—

"*....The princes being the creation of British imperialism and the British having quitted India, the people in the States were their own masters and the Kashmiris must, therefore, decide, without any coercion or show of it, from within or without, to which Dominion they should belong.*"

The White Paper on Kashmir issued by the Government of India in 1948 held out the assurance:

"*The question of accession is to be decided finally in a free plebiscite; on this there is no dispute. There will be no victimisation of any native of the State, whatever his political view may be and no Kashmiri will be deprived of the right to vote.*"

On January 15, 1948, the leader of the Indian delegation assured the members of the Security Council:

"*....Whether she (Kashmir) should withdraw from her accession to India, and either accede to India or remain independent with a right to claim admission as a member of the United Nations—all this we have recognised to be a matter for unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir after normal life is restored there.*"

In a broadcast from New Delhi on November 2, 1947, the Indian Prime Minister said:

"....*We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared, when peace and law and order have been established, to have referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations....*"

Again, next day, Mr. Nehru in a telegram to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan repeated his assurance:

> "*I wish to draw your attention to broadcast on Kashmir which I made last evening. I have stated our Government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave final decision to people of Kashmir. I further stated that we have agreed to an impartial international agency like United Nations supervising any referendum. As soon as raiders are withdrawn there would be no necessity for our keeping our troops there.*"

Mr. Nehru reiterated this declaration on November 21, 1947:

"....*I have repeatedly stated that as soon as peace and order have been established, the people of Kashmir should decide the question of accession by plebiscite or referendum under international auspices such as those of the United Nations....by this declaration I stand.*"

In the summer of 1951 Maulana Azad, India's Education Minister, said at a Press Conference in Iran:

> *"The Government of India have declared on more occasions than one, and on their own initiative and without any suggestion from any quarter whatsoever, that the Government of India will respect the wishes of the people of Kashmir.... Today and always we say that it shall be the people of Kashmir who will decide whether they will remain with us or accede to Pakistan."*

And, then followed a series of assurances to the Security Council that India would never obstruct or repudiate a plebiscite in Kashmir.

Addressing the Indian Parliament on August 7, 1952, Mr. Nehru said:

> *"......With all deference to this Parliament, I would like to say that the ultimate decision will be made in the minds and hearts of the men and women of Kashmir and not in this Parliament or at the United Nations... First of all, let me say clearly that we accept the basic proposition that the future of Kashmir is going to be decided finally by the goodwill and pleasure of her people. The goodwill and pleasure of this Parliament is of no importance in this matter, not because this Parliament does not have the strength to decide the question of Kashmir but because any kind of imposition would be against the principle that this Parliament upholds....The question of Kashmir, as this House well knows, certainly has not been for us a question of territory....Kashmir is very close to our minds and hearts; if, however, the people of Kashmir do not wish to remain with us, let them go by all means; we will not keep them against*

their will, how ever painful it may be to us. That is the policy that India will pursue...... So, while the accession was complete in law and in fact, the other fact which has nothing to do with law also remains, namely, our pledge to the people of Kashmir—if you like, to the people of the world—that this matter can be affirmed again or cancelled by the people of Kashmir according to their wishes. We do not want to win people against their will and with the help of armed forces and, if the people of Jammu and Kashmir State wish to part company with us, they can go their way and we shall go ours."

On August 20, 1953, the following Press *communique* was issued in New Delhi by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan:

> "*The Kashmir dispute was especially discussed at some length. It was their firm opinion that this should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbance to the life of the people of the State. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite. Such a plebiscite had been proposed and agreed to some years ago. Progress, however, could not be made because of lack of agreement in regard to certain preliminary issues. The Prime Ministers agreed that these preliminary issues should be considered by them directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to this. These agreements would have to be given effect to and the next step would be the appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator.*"

What is more, Nehru went to the extent of fixing a deadline and agreed that the Plebiscite Administrator should be appointed by the end of April, 1954.

There is no tragedy more stark than to find India reversing her clear stand on the question of plebiscite, in spite of all the categorical declarations, official statements and telegraphic assurances that the future of Jammu and Kashmir shall be decided through the democratic method of a plebiscite conducted under U.N. auspices. Casting aside all his solemnly-spoken words, Mr. Nehru now says that Kashmir belongs to India "legally and in fact." If possession is nine-tenth of law, Kashmir is "legally" a part of India because Nehru holds it "in fact." That well-worn filibuster, Menon, uttered 80,000 words and spoke for nine hours just to inform the members of the Security Council that Kashmir had become a part of India. Even President Prasad of India has declared that "the State of Jammu and Kashmir became a part of India on 17th October, 1947, when the Government of India accepted the offer of accession made by the then ruler of the State." Could there be a more brazen-faced breach of faith? Could there be a more defiant attitude towards the forces of democracy? In spite of changed and changing circumstances, India had always recognized the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide the accession issue "as soon as peace and order prevailed in the State." If there is today "peace and order" in the State, let us hold a plebiscite. If there is no "peace and order", ten years after the State's so-called accession to India, Nehru has no business to be there, and the only way is plebiscite.

Here is a 'Letter to the Editor', lifted from *Times of India*, dated of February 13, 1957, in which a Nagpur Hindu has embarrassingly summed up the Kashmir issue for Nehru:

"IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE KASHMIRIS WILL VOTE EITHER FOR AN INTEGRATION OF

KASHMIR WITH INDIA OR AGAINST SUCH INTEGRATION IF A PLEBISCITE IS HELD.

IF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS SURE THAT KASHMIRIS WANT TO INTEGRATE THEIR STATE WITH INDIA, WHY DOESN'T IT AGREE TO A PLEBISCITE AND END THE CRISIS ONCE AND FOR ALL?

ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS SURE THAT THE KASHMIRIS ARE AGAINST SUCH INTEGRATION, WHY ARE WE FORCING OUR WILL ON THEM?

IN ANY CASE, A PLEBISCITE IS CALLED FOR, THE MORE SO BECAUSE THE U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL HAS VOTED WITH AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY FOR IT."

CHAPTER X

NOTHING FAILS LIKE FAILURE

'Action, not years, tell how long we live.'

CHAPTER X

Nothing Fails Like Failure

THUS, we have seen how, bit by bit, moment by moment, step by step, Nehru has demolished his case. The aggression bogey cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. The fear of communal riots in the wake of Kashmir settlement exists nowhere except in Nehru's own mind. The plea that no plebiscite is possible because the situation has changed and much water has flown down river Jhelum since that promise was made is as preposterous as it is monstrous, because the issue can never be settled and the final disposition of the State can never be decided as long as the people of Kashmir are not given a fair opportunity to register their will and express their wishes in a free democratic atmosphere. The verdict of the so-called Constituent Assembly on the accession issue has been challenged not only by the Security Council and the world press, not only by Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, but by the very people whom Nehru professes to represent.

But Nehru refuses to see or listen or hear anything which even questions the "accomplished fact" of Kashmir's accession to India. Never perhaps in the annals of civilized world have so many accusations and allegations been so seriously levelled against so popular a leader by so many people, in so many countries, on so many occasions and in so strong a language,

but India's Nehru cannot see anything beyond Nehru's India.

In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, nose is considered to be such a symbol of self-respect that whenever someone brings disgrace to the family, the elders would shout, "he has cut our nose". So, Mr. Nehru who had specialized in poking his nose into every sordid or serious affair has got his towering nose torn and smeared by his own conduct. Never perhaps in contemporary history has a great public man and a national leader been more often condemned than the Indian Prime Minister after the Security Council resumed discussion on the Kashmir issue early last year. It is indeed a pity and shame that a man of Nehru's stature and standing should be discussed in a language which is only used for criminals, maniacs and lunatics. We had no manner of doubt in our mind about India's intentions but we could never imagine that Nehru would so completely strip himself of the glamorous democratic garments he had been putting on all these years. There stands Nehru, unmasked, unashamed, unrepentant, proudly gloating over his Kashmir victory. What a victory? And, at what price?

After the Security Council's last debate on Kashmir, newspapers throughout the world have made a collective confession. They admit that circumstances forced them to a discovery of India's Nehru. Forgetting his past appellations, they have found and used new epithets which have a strange synonymic resonance about them. They have called Nehru "a fraud", "a thug", "a hypocrite," "a Brutus", "a cheat", "a pharisee", "a Machiavelli", "a cynic", "an opportunist", "an imperialist", "a colonialist", "a liar", "a blackmailer", "a wrong-doer", "a robber",

"a defaulter", "an offender", "an aggressor", "a sinner", "a bluffer", "a pretender", "an impostor", "a grabber", etc., etc.

Thus, morally speaking, the lofty Nehru lies, today, prostrate with not a finger raised to support his Kashmir crusade. He has miserably failed to convince the world of the logic or justice or democratic content of his Kashmir case. And, yet, like the proverbial fellow in the dock, Nehru thinks he has been unjustly sentenced by the judge on the bench. He wonders why "the foreign press and everyone else were moralizing to India, but had not said a word about Pakistan's 'aggression' in Kashmir." The answer is very simple. This disciple of Gandhi, this demi-god of 400 millions, this prince among Indian politicians, this moralist, internationalist and philosopher, this protector of the weak and friend of the aggrieved, this self-appointed keeper of world conscience, universal adviser, dispenser of justice, enemy of war, apostle of peace, arbiter of disputes, mediator, solicitor and ubiquitous do-gooder and go-between, and go-between, solicitor and ubiquitous do-gooder, this preacher of self determination and freedom-fighter who weeps for enslaved peoples of the world has kept in captivity 4,000,000 Kashmiris. He has forgotten his promise and eaten his words. He has swallowed his solemn commitments and made minced meat of his moral obligations. He has quibbled his legal position; he has reversed his moral stand; he has sold his conscience for a piece of land to which he has no title. He has insulted the Security Council; he has defied the United Nations; he has flouted world opinion. Does he still wonder why the world press has condemned him?

Nehru has failed; and nothing fails like failure. But what does it matter in a world ruled by power

politics? Nehru may have morally failed but who can compel him to relax his stranglehold on Kashmir? Even the Graham Mission has failed, as Nehru is determined to hold what he has. Nehru has dropped the curtain and cannot even bear a reference to Kashmir. There could not be a greater challenge to Pakistan, a graver threat to world peace and a more blatant affront to democratic principles.

What will happen if the United Nations fail to arrange a plebiscite in the near future? The mounting tension in Pakistan and the popular fears that any further delay in settling the Kashmir dispute might even lead to war is taken by Nehru as denouncement of a plot against India! In fact, they are now openly accusing Pakistan of preparing for an armed liberation of Kashmir. The people of Pakistan are known for their bravery and martial qualities, but they have been far from bellicose in dealing with this case. In fact they have shown infinite patience and passion for peace, in spite of the fact that (1) Kashmir is a question of life and death to Pakistan; (2) the Pakistan army is reputed to be one of the finest fighting forces in the world; (3) we can morally justify any stand we take in view of growing unrest among the Kashmiri refugees in Pakistan, tribesmen and the people of Occupied Kashmir; (4) many in Pakistan believe that if we have to fight for Kashmir, it is better to fight now than later when there might be shift of population and India might divert the rivers that flow into Pakistan from Kashmir; (5) Nehru has provided enough provocation by his anti-plebiscite utterances; (6) public opinion in most countries has supported Pakistan, as the case has been developing since 1949; (7) Pakistan has always accepted and India has always rejected all proposals to resolve the dispute; (8) Pakistan is in a stronger strategic

position to wage a liberation war because of her long contiguous frontier with Kashmir.

In spite of all this and much more, Pakistan did not forsake the path of peace. But how long? Every day that passes, Pakistanis' fear goes against them; every day that passes drives a nail in the coffin of Kashmir. For nine years, Pakistanis say, they have waited in vain, hoped for a plebiscite but India's intransigence sabotaged every proposal to end the dispute by peaceful, democratic means. In other words, they have waited all these years for a miracle to happen. But the miracle did not happen and it shall never happen, because we have been pleading for facts, not knowing that facts are not going to determine the issue. We have been pleading for justice, but appealing to the hangmen of justice. We have been pleading for truth but depending upon suppressors of truth. We have been pleading for fairplay but dealing with those playing the foulest game. We have been pleading for peace, but forgetting the violence on the other side. We have been pleading for plebiscite, but over-estimating the patience of the men whom we expect to stand by us. These men, their women and children, have waited too long and now lie low with Bharati bayonets fixed on the frontiers of their land. How long can we remain silent spectators of a situation that is growing hourly grimmer? Must we continue to pray and plead in the name of Justice, Democracy, Humanity, Freedom?

Thus, there is a growing belief in Pakistan that the only way to secure justice in Kashmir is to change our basic approach to the question and employ "other methods". Pakistanis think in these terms because they sincerely believe that Kashmir is for them a matter

of life and death. They believe that Kashmir is an integral part of Pakistan, a limb of their body, the very breath of their being, without which they cannot survive. For them, Pakistan, without Kashmir is like a man without a head, a house without a roof, and a ship without a deck. For Nehru, Kashmir may be a question of prestige, a land of sentiment, a thing of beauty, a valley of kinship, a game of power politics, but, for Pakistan, it is a matter of life and death. They think that no sacrifice is too great, no price is too heavy and no stakes are too high to secure the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan. Is it not better to fight now, they say, when the whole world is morally behind them than hang on in the hope that, one day, the United Nations will "order" a plebiscite in Kashmir? That day may never come and, even if it comes, it may be a little too late.

India is seizing every opportunity to denude Pakistan of her vital water resources; she is determined to create a situation which spells economic disaster for this country. Apart from tampering with the rivers which flow into Pakistan from India, they have begun to believe that even Jehlum and Chenab could be diverted, one day. They are already constructing Akhnoor dam to divert and store the Chenab waters. Modern advances in engineering and technology are perhaps capable of achieving anything. Thus, our democratic sentiments for Kashmir apart, it is the grim economics of the situation which is bound to precipitate a showdown with India. How long can our rivers remain at the mercy of India? If time has come to realise the inevitability of armed conflict with India, should we not force the issue now when there is still a chance than helplessly wait for the Security Council to act?

In these circumstances, what is the duty of the Security Council? On January 1, 1949, a five-member United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan secured a cease-fire which, according to Admiral Nimitz, "stands to the credit of the United Nations as one of its early and important successes." But, what followed hardly "stands to the credit" of the United Nations, as the Security Council has failed to implement the plebiscite part of the original proposals. I am fully conscious of the fact that the United Nations has no permanent standing army to enforce its decisions and perhaps they would not like to pursue a matter beyond a stage where the situation presents a serious challenge to their prestige. But this argument could be easily reversed, for there could not be a better way of promoting its prestige than to honour its solemn commitments to a country which agreed to stop fighting in the larger interests of world peace. But the fighting was stopped on the express condition and clear understanding that it will be followed by demilitarization and plebiscite. Had there been no cease-fire, there would have been a little more bloodletting but the issue would have been soon decided. In a letter to *Manchester Guardian*, Lord Birdwood says:

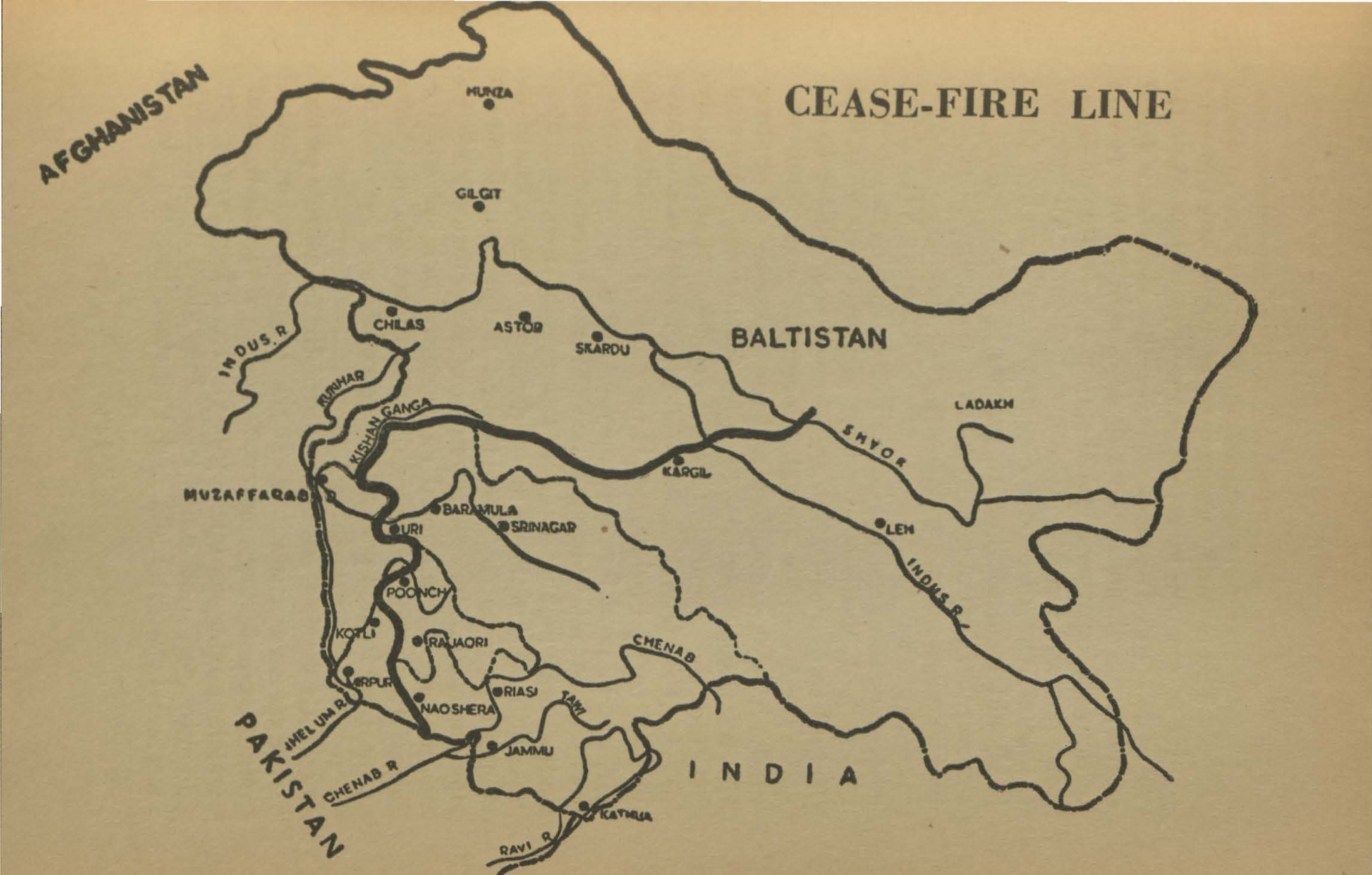
> "*The United Nations has generally been credited with achieving the cease-fire on January* 1, 1949. *In fact this is not the case. The United Nations Commission in Kashmir was only able to initiate the conditions favourable for a cease-fire but the actual opportunity for its implementation was the result of a telegram from General Bucher, commanding in India, to General Gracey, commanding in Pakistan. The telegram on December* 30, 1948, *read:*

'In view of political developments my Government thinks continuation of moves and counter-moves often due to misunderstanding accompanied by fire. My Government authorizes me to state I will have their full support if I order Indian troops to remain in present positions and to cease-fire......'

The telegram was the direct result of a fierce artillery battle on December 14, in which the Pakistanis shattered the Indian line of communications."

Why did the Security Council intervene and why did they secure a cease-fire which they are flying as a great feather in their cap, when they could not follow it up? I am not unaware of the devastating veto power, but, collectively, the Security Council has badly let down a country which has obeyed its directives, accepted its proposals, honoured its commitments and carried out its part of the agreement.

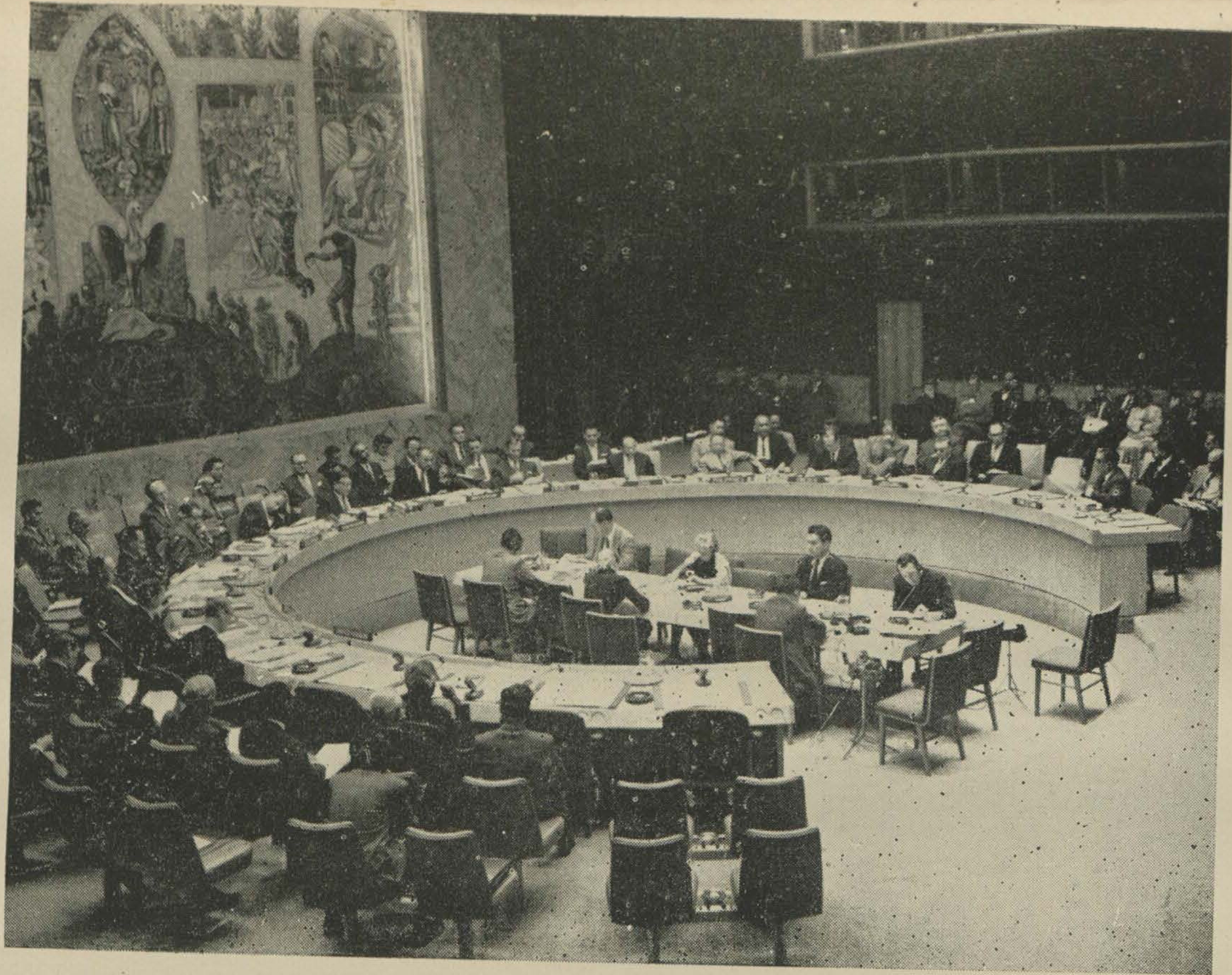
How long can it go on? How long can the two armies continue to face each other on both sides of the cease-fire line? And, how long will the U.N. Observers continue to observe? Nine years of truce in Kashmir have cost more than three crores of rupees on the maintenance of the United Nations' observer group for Pakistan and India. Besides, Pakistan has not only to maintain for its security an expensive army along the Kashmir border but has to earmark, year after year, more than half of its budget for defence requirements. As the sources of national income are limited, it means fewer rupees for health, education and for some vital economic and industrial projects.



How long can the two armies continue to face each other on both sides of the cease-fire line?
And, how long will the U. N. Observers continue to observe?

The Security Council is, at least, not powerless to give up the consideration of the dispute under Chapter VI which merely seeks a solution "by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, or other regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." All attempts to "settle the dispute by such means" having failed, it should lose no time in moving under Chapter VII as, even on Indian admission, the relations between the two countries are so strained that there is an actual "threat of war". Article 41 of Chapter VII clearly empowers the Security Council to call upon members of the United Nations to adopt measures which include "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communications and the severance of diplomatic relations." Article 42 goes further and says that, "should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstration, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations." Thus, the Security Council should be prepared to take "urgent military measures" and "combined international enforcement action" when all agree that the Kashmir dispute represents a "threat to peace" in this part of the world.

All foreign observers agree that Kashmir presents an explosive situation. It is a powder keg which might burst any moment, it is a live dynamite which might go off any day. In other words, this dispute can not only lead, one day, to a regular warfare between India and Pakistan, but can develop



The Security Council has been debating the Kashmir issue for ten years : it is one of their typical meetings at the U. N. headquarters, New York.

into a world conflagration. As I have already pointed out in a previous chapter, any further prolongation of the Kashmir dispute will complicate matters and introduce new, unforeseen and even dangerous factors into the situation. But, there is still time if members of the Security Council realize the disastrous alternative to plebiscite. By conducting an early plebiscite, they will be carrying out their own resolutions and not favouring Pakistan; and even if they have to coerce Nehru into submission they will not be supporting Pakistan as against India, but supporting their own world forum. Thus, they are honour-bound, duty-bound and prestige-bound to act—and act before the smouldering situation leads to a volcanic eruption.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TWO RESOLUTIONS

Here are two basic Resolutions of the UNCIP; even the best commentary on Kashmir would fail to surpass these 2,000 words in determining the rights and wrongs of this dispute. The Resolution of January 5, 1949, is supplementary to the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948. The Two Resolutions were passed after the Commission had given "careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the representatives of India," after "the Government of India had agreed" to its various parts and clauses and after "the Government of India had reaffirmed their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people." Today, Prime Minister Nehru of India openly says that he and his Government are not bound by these Resolutions because there is no such thing as the Kashmir dispute!

Resolution of the Commission of August 13, 1948

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, having given careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and

Being of the opinion that the prompt cessation of hostilities and the correction of conditions the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security are essential to implementation of its endeavours to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan in effecting a final settlement of the situation,

Resolves to submit simultaneously to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following proposal:

PART I

Cease-fire order

A.—The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that their respective High Commands will issue separately and simultaneously a cease-fire order to apply to all forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as of the earliest practicable date or dates to be mutually agreed upon within four days after these proposals have been accepted by both Governments.

B.—The High Commands of the Indian and Pakistani forces agree to refrain from taking any

measures that might augment the military potential of the forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(For the purpose of these proposals forces under their control shall be considered to include all forces, organized and unorganized, fighting or participating in hostilities on their respective sides.)

C.—The Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of India and Pakistan shall promptly confer regarding any necessary local changes in present dispositions which may facilitate the cease-fire.

D.—In its discretion and as the Commission may find practicable, the Commission will appoint military observers who, under the authority of the Commission and with the co-operation of both Commands, will supervise the observance of the cease-fire order.

E.—The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree to appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

PART II

Truce agreement

Simultaneously with the acceptance of the proposal for the immediate cessation of hostilities as outlined in Part I, both Governments accept the following principles as a basis for the formulation of a truce agreement, the details of which shall be worked out in discussion between their representatives and the Commission.

A—1. As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that Stage.

2. The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting.

3. Pending a final solution, the territory evacuated by the Pakistani troops will be administered by the local authorities unaer the surveillance of the Commission.

B.—1. When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that the tribesmen and Pakistani nationals referred to in Part II, A—2 hereof have withdrawn, thereby terminating the situation which was represented by the Government of India to the Security Council as having occasioned the presence of Indian forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and further, that the Pakistani forces are being withdrawn from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India agrees to begin to withdraw the bulk of its forces from that State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission.

2. Pending the acceptance of the conditions for a final settlement of the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian Government will maintain within the lines existing at the moment of the cease-fire the minimum strength of its forces which in agree-

ment with the Commission are considered necessary to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order. The Commission will have observers stationed where it deems necessary.

3. The Government of India will undertake to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will take all measures within its power to make it publicly known that peace, law and order will be safeguarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed.

C.—1. Upon signature, the full text of the truce agreement or a communique containing the principles thereof as agreed upon between the two Governments and the Commission, will be made public.

PART III

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the truce agreement, both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured.

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION OF JANUARY 5, 1949

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan,

Having received from the Governments of India and Pakistan, in communications, dated December 23,

and December 25, 1948, respectively, their acceptance of the following principles which are supplementary to the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948:

1. The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite.

2. A plebiscite will be held when it shall be found by the Commission that the cease-fire and truce agreements set forth in Parts I and II of the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948, have been carried out and arrangements for the plebiscite have been completed.

3. (*a*) The Secretary-General of the United Nations will, in agreement with the Commission, nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who shall be a personality of high international standing and commanding general confidence. He will be formally appointed to office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

(*b*) The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organizing and conducting the plebiscite and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite.

(*c*) The Plebiscite Administrator shall have authority to appoint such staff of assistants and observers as he may require.

4. (*a*) After implementation of Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948,

and when the Commission is satisfied that peaceful conditions have been restored in the State, the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator will determine, in consultation with the Government of India, the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces, such disposal to be with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite.

(*b*) As regards the territory referred to in A.—2 of Part II of the resolution of August 13, final disposal of the armed forces in that territory will be determined by the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator in consultation with the local authorities.

5. All civil and military authorities within the State and the principal political elements of the State will be required to co-operate with the Plebiscite Administrator in the preparation for and the holding of the plebiscite.

6. (*a*) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the disturbances will be invited and be free to return and to exercise all their rights as such citizens. For the purpose of facilitating repatriation there shall be appointed two Commissions, one composed of nominees of India and the other of nominees of Pakistan. The Commission shall operate under the direction of the Plebiscite Administrator. The Governments of India and Pakistan and all authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will collaborate with the Plebiscite Administrator in putting this provision into effect.

(*b*) All persons (other than citizens of the State) who on or since August 15, 1947, have entered it for other than lawful purpose, shall be required to leave the State.

7. All authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will undertake to ensure, in collaboration with the Plebiscite Administrator, that:

(*a*) There is no threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite;

(*b*) No restrictions are placed on legitimate political activity throughout the State. All subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste or party, shall be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan. There shall be freedom of the press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit;

(*c*) All political prisoners are released;

(*d*) Minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection; and

(*e*) There is no victimization.

8. The Plebiscite Administrator may refer to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan problems on which he may require assistance, and the Commission may in its discretion call upon the Plebiscite Administrator to carry out on its behalf any of the responsibilities with which it has been entrusted.

9. At the conclusion of the plebiscite, the Plebiscite Administrator shall report the result thereof to the Commission and to the Government of Jammu and

Kashmir. The Commission shall then certify to the Security Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been free and impartial;

10. Upon the signature of the truce agreement the details of the foregoing proposals will be elaborated in the consultations envisaged in Part III of the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948. The Plebiscite Administrator will be fully associated in these consultations.

Commends the Governments of India and Pakistan for their prompt action in ordering a cease-fire to take effect from one minute before midnight of January 1, 1949, pursuant to the agreement arrived at as provided for by the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948; and

Resolves to return in the immediate future to the subcontinent to discharge the responsibilities imposed upon it by the Resolution of August 13, 1948, and by the foregoing principles.

APPENDIX II

TWO LETTERS

The two letters reproduced here are by Shaikh Mohommed Abdullah, who was installed Prime Minister of Kashmir after Partition. He is languishing in a lone prison somewhere in Kashmir. His only fault was that he spoke rather loudly—for his people; and he reminded Nehru of a promise—the promise of plebiscite.

These letters speak for themselves. The first letter was addressed to Mr. G. M. Sadiq who was the President of the fake Constituent Assembly which recently "voted" Kashmir's integration with India. The second letter is addressed to the members of the Security Council and was received in New York in early 1957. *The language is precisely Abdullah's without any editing.*

Both these letters pierced through prison walls.

APPENDIX II

First Warning

FROM the scrappy Press reports reaching here, I gather that you are contemplating to convene shortly a session of the Constituent Assembly with a view to finalising the constitution for the Jammu and Kashmir State. Obviously this is going to be the most impotant juncture in the history of our State. I, therefore, owe it to the suppressed millions of the country, as well as to the mighty mass movement led for a century, to warn you of the grave consequences likely to follow your contemplated action. Hoping against hope that you may still pause for second thought, however belated, and refrain further from the course of action that has paralysed public opinion and done disastrous damage here and ask if the present circumstances and the prevailing climate can warrant and guarantee a constitution in accordance with the aspirations of the people.

With the *coup* of August 9, 1953, the first act of the murder of democracy was committed when I was unconstitutionally and illegally removed from Premiership and simultaneously arrested and detained.

This arbitrary removal from office of the Leader of the House, without formal vote of no-confidence, is without a parallel in democracy and the spontaneous mass protest, from every nook and corner of Kashmir, has registered an unequivocal condemnation against

it. The Government, pitchforked into office in consequence of the *coup*, therefore, does not and cannot enjoy even the semblance of public confidence. Beyond doubt it would have tottered and collapsed soon after its inception, but for the wanton and widespread repression let loose by the Army, Indian Reserve Police, and gangsters of the Peace Brigade, which sustains the present regime in office.

SHOOTING AND ARRESTS

What followed August 9 is not unknown to you, unless you find it convenient to forget. It is history now that promiscuous shooting took a heavy toll of peaceful men, women and children throughout the country. Thousands of people were arrested and tortured in order to break them into submission. The victims included high Government officials, respectable citizens, lawyers of high status, Members of the Consembly and many freedom fighters of our movement.

Where these third degree methods could not coerce them, the victims, with bruised and broken limbs, were whisked off to various prisons in the State. Number of those detained under house arrest at Ministers' residences, in the so-called hotels and other private buildings is a legion and their tales of torture are equally heart-rending. This bloodcurding drama went on for long unabashed and unabated. Kashmir was made a veritable hell, and an iron curtain was thrown over the valley suppressing all facts from the outside world.

In these circumstances you convened a session of the Assembly in order to seek a vote of confidence for the new Government, headed by Baskshi Ghulam Muhammad, who was the chief actor in the bloody

drama of August, 1953, with you as the main collaborator.

PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

As soon as this information reached me in prison, I lost no time in urging upon you the necessity of my presence in the House when the motion of no-confidence against me—or that of confidence in Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad—was to be discussed. I need hardly discuss the propriety and fairness of my request. As Leader of the House, as well as the Prime Minister, it was my unquestionable right to face the motion. All principles and precedents of democracy support this sacrosanct privilege. But obviously as you yourself were involved in the conspiracy, your own position was most untenable and precarious. You, therefore, found the only way to save your skin in refusing my request and thereby further committed grave violence to the principles of democracy.

NOTHING BUT FRAUD

You should be aware of the fact that every Member of the House has a right to be present in the House when any business is transacted. It is not the question of any numerical strength of his view that counts but the Member's basic right to canvass support in the House that matters essentially. By refusing permission to other M.L.A.s jailed in 1953 along with me, you usurped this right also. Thus you aided and abetted in trying to hoodwink the world that the present regime enjoyed the confidence of the House. But everyone is fully conscious of the fact that a vote of the House, obtained under such circum-

stances, has not only no normal or legal value, but is a positive fraud on democracy.

Of late, a good deal of evidence has come to light which establishes beyond doubt that the August 9 *coup* was a result of a deep conspiracy with communal and reactionary elements and other vested interests with whom the Bakhshi clique joined hands in order to sabotage the great movement of which I have been the spearhead since 1931.

LAWLESS LAW !

The ruling clique has not only betrayed the fundamental principles, for whose vindication hundreds of our comrades laid down their lives during the struggle, but has left nothing undone in order to crush the spirit of the freedom fighters in the State of Kashmir, which is being ruled by a lawless law of preventive detention which authorises arrest without warrant and detention without trial for a period of five years. Not infrequent use is being made of this monstrous law and the axe often falls on the active members of the Opposition, or those in the country whose legitimate political activities endanger your office.

You must be aware of instances in which this brutal law was used for extorting resignations, or for putting in prison Consembly Members for joining the Opposition and even detaining people for publicising speeches made on the privileged floor of your House. Even at present, on the eve of your great venture of giving the country a "constitution", several important Opposition Members are under detention and some others are let out on the so-called parole and are under most humiliating police surveillance, for no fault other than that they have consistently refused to support

your regime. To crown all this ignominious state of affairs, there is my continued detention without trial for the last three years, extended from time to time for the sole reason of giving the present Government fresh, albeit brief, lease of life.

PEACE BRIGADE

As if this law of the jungle was not enough, your Government has, at a huge cost, built up a civil army known as Peace Brigade or Special Police, whose main task is to flog people publicly, rob them in broad daylight and commit other atrocities upon those who are in opposition to your Government, and thus help to keep it in office. This organisation is mostly composed of gangsters, the scum of society, with a shady past, whose job is to strike terror among the peaceful citizens.

Civil liberties in the State have been buried deep, legitimate political activity is crippled and public life paralysed. Huge amounts, borrowed from India, are being utilised in corrupting people, granting them contracts and other requisites in order to prop up your regime.

HEIGHT OF TREACHERY

By August 9, by action as well as by the long record of the black deeds in and outside the House, the present Government and the Assembly have completely forfeited the confidence of the electorate and they no longer represent the political and economic aspirations of the people. It will be the height of treachery if such a body sits to frame a fundamental law for the people and their future generations. Nothing can be a worse betrayal of their aspirations.

I feel, therefore, duty bound to ask you to desist from such a course of action.

History has produced many quislings but the world knows the doom of every enemy of the people. Nearer home in India, even mightier stooges rose to thwart the progress of the majestic march of freedom. Though guns and gold gave them some respite by suppressing the freedom forces for a while, yet the mass upsurge was too strong and in due course it overthrew both the stooges and their masters. I am confident that should you persist in your anti-people course of action and try to foist a constitution on the people of Kashmir, history will repeat itself and they will fight back your designs to the bitter end.

S. M. Abdullah.

Letter to Security Council

To:
THE HON'BLE MEMBERS
SECURITY COUNCIL,
UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION,
NEW YORK.

Your Excellencies;

FAST developing events indicate that the nine-year old Kashmir question is very likely to come up for your consideration very soon, and in all probability you will give your most earnest attention to it with a view to effect a final settlement of the Dispute. Quite naturally, on such an important occasion I would have very much liked to be able to personally present before Your Excellencies some outstanding aspects of the question and explain the urgent and immediate need for a final settlement and early termination of the protracted agony of my people. But that is not to be! Your Excellencies are perhaps aware that I am completing my third year of incarceration in a detention camp in the State where I have been whisked off as a result of *coup d'etat* of 9th August, 1953. Accordingly, the only course available to me is to send out this letter and pray for Your Excellencies' indulgence in the hope that facts stated here will receive Your Excellencies' earnest consideration.

2. As a spearhead of people's struggle against autocracy and economic exploitation I led a powerful

mass movement in Kashmir for over two decades. This movement which passed through various troubles and travails had always "sovereignty of the people" as its bed-rock. Many of our comrades-in-arms laid their lives for this cherished goal and many others went through great sufferings in the pursuit thereof. With the tragic partition of the subcontinent of India, though the flames of communal orgy engulfed the subcontinent, taking a heavy toll of human life, the State of Jammu and Kashmir kept its head cool and considerably succeeded in maintaining communal harmony in Kashmir. Unfortunately, however, the partition of India did not wholly spare Kashmir from its effects and a tribal invasion on the State from the North-West followed in 1947. Under the stress of this invasion the then Maharaja of Kashmir appealed to India for armed intervention.

3. In order to make military intervention from India legally possible the Maharaja had to sign an instrument of accession with India. This accession was, however, declared by India only a provisional and the disposal with the State was finally to be made in accordance with the free will of the people. On 27th October, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor General of India, wrote to Maharaja in reply to his letter offering accession of the State with India that ". . . . as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."

4. On 2nd November, 1947, Pt. Jawahirlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in his broadcast speech declared: "We are anxious not to finalize anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to be given to the people of Kashmir to have their say. . . .

The accession must be made by the people of that State.... We will not and cannot back out of it."

5. On behalf of India there are innumerable commitments made to the United Nations Organization as well as to the people of Kashmir that the letter *alone* can decide their fate through an *impartial plebiscite.* Thus, India came to Kashmir as the champion and protector of our right of self-determination and under that slogan fought back the invaders with our support.

6. On 13th August, 1948, and later on 5th January, 1949, the U.N. Commission on India and Pakistan passed two historic resolutions incorporating the solemn agreements of the two countries that accession shall be decided through a free and impartial plebiscite under the aegis of U.N. Organization. These international commitments to the people of Kashmir are categorical and unambiguous.

7. In 1951 a Constituent Assembly was convened in the Indian-occupied part of the State with a view to give constitutional shape to the Government. Pakistan, suspecting backdoor decision on accession through this Constituent Assembly, took strong exception in the Security Council to the convening of this Assembly and its competence to decide to the question of accession. Sir B.M. Rau, Leader of the Indian Delegation in the United Nations, in his speeches before the Security Council delivered on 12th and 29th March, 1951, made the object of the Assembly abundantly clear and declared unequivocally that in reference to accession the Constituent Assembly can take no decision and his Government will be bound by her commitments made to the United Nations in this regard. The Security Council on the basis of this international commitment registered

its verdict on these terms "....and any action that Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and *affiliation* of the entire State, or any part thereof would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle." (Resolution of Security Council of March 1951.) Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru while answering questions in the Indian Parliament in February 1955, characterised the Kashmir Assembly's pronouncement on accession as "unilateral" and therefore of no consequence.

7. Meanwhile the Security Council had suggested that the two countries should try to effect a peaceful settlement of this dispute through direct negotiations.

8. As leader of the National Conference prompted by the sole desire of facilitating a settlement with due regard to the wishes of the people I, in consultation with the executive of my organisation and with the full approval of a top-level committee nominated by the Executive of the National Conference for the purpose, drew up a list of possible alternative means of settlement of this dispute. Accordingly, I communicated these alternatives to the Prime Minister of India early in July, 1953, so that in the forthcoming talks, between the two Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan our approach to the peaceful settlement of the dispute would not be lost sight of. Unfortunately India did not seem to like this and turned hostile.

9. A deep and carefully screened conspiracy against me and my followers was the result. Kashmir, unfortunately, is the root cause which deeply embitters the relations between India and Pakistan and in any conflict this State is bound to be the first casualty. No peaceful progress is possible within the State unless this dispute is finally and amicably settled. These

are weighty considerations and no one who has the real good of the State at heart can lose sight of these factors. For some time past I had therefore been pressing for an early settlement of this dispute with Pakistan (*see* Appendix I). Indian reaction was averse to this approach and her resentment towards me gradually culminated in positive hostility.

10. Disruption and factionalism in our ranks and corruption of our people was therefore resorted to by India for breaking our unity and thus achieving its nefarious end. The plot culminated in the *coup d'etat* on 9th August, 1953. In the early hours of that night I and my Cabinet were dismissed without a no-confidence motion of the Assembly by the legally and constitutionally questionable fiat of the Head of the State. I was put under arrest along with another Minister of my Cabinet and am now under continued detention nearly for the last three years without trial and without even a charge.

11. Simultaneously with my arrest thousands of my followers and co-workers, including Deputy Ministers, high ranking gazetted officers, respectable businessmen, lawyers, Members of the Assembly and public men of high position in life were clapped into prison. All manner of repressive measures were let loose in order to crush the spontaneous uprising of the people throughout the Valley. Indian Central Reserve Police and army as well as the militia, and the special police were given a free licence to shoot at sight and commit all other possible atrocities on the defenceless people—thousands were beaten or starved in the jail in order to break them into submission—the number of those killed was officially reported to be 36 although the public version puts it very much higher. No

judicial enquiry was held to investigate into these atrocities which include among their victims even pregnant women and children. More than a score of Assembly members was detained without charge and many others kept under house arrest.

12. It was under these bloodcurdling circumstances that a session of the Assembly was called to record its approval of the *coup* and a vote of confidence in the new government. From prison I sent telegraphic requests to the President of the Union of India, to its Prime Minister and to the Speaker of the Assembly to allow me to appear before the House and face a motion of no-confidence in a democratic manner but no heed was paid to it. Thus almost with a pistol on the neck of the Assembly Members and with a massacre and terrorism all over the Valley, a vote of confidence for the Government pitchforked into office with the help of Indian bayonets was secured. No greater fraud on democracy can be conceived! What moral, legal or constitutional value this fraudulent act has need hardly be explained.

13. Thus India monoeuvered to remove those elements from the Kashmir scene which she thought stood in the way of her anti-Kashmiri designs and subsequently sought ratification of accession through the Assembly. To say the least, it is a fraud upon the people, betrayal of their right of self-determination and gross breach of international commitments and promises.

14. In March 1956, the Prime Minister of India made a public declaration ruling out plebiscite in Kashmir. It has shocked the world conscience and stunned the people of Kashmir to whom innumerable assurances had been held out that they will shape

their own destiny through a fair and impartial plebiscite.

Reasons advanced for this *volte face* are that Pakistan has joined SEATO, received arms aid from America and signed the Baghdad Pact. The absurdity of the argument is patent. Whatever Pakistan may do or might have done, that can be no valid reason for denying the Kashmiris the exercise of their right of self-determination in order to shape their own future. Secondly India's Prime Minister has hinted that a vote in favour of Pakistan will rouse communal passions in India and endanger the security of its Muslim minority. This argument is also untenable. Is India's secularism so skin deep that it will collapse like a pack of cards as soon as Kashmiris exercise their right of self-determination? One may as well ask: Are Kashmiris to be held as hostages for fair treatment of Muslim minority under the so-called Secular Democracy of India? Were India's oft-repeated promises to the people of Kashmir that they alone shall have the right to decide their own future through an impartial and fair plebiscite intended to be implemented only in case a vote in her favour was certain?

15. India has repeatedly claimed that Kashmir is far progressing and that the political uncertainty has ended. Nothing can be farther from truth. Kashmir is at present ruled by monstrous laws which have crippled all political and social life in the State and paralysed all progress. A lawless law of preventive detention has been promulgated in the State with the sanction of the President of the Republic of India which has stifled all civil liberties. This law authorized arrests and detention for a period of five years without trial or even without disclosing the grounds of detention.

Free and frequent use is made of this law of the jungle. Respectable citizens and political workers have been arrested under this law on the excuse of having publicized the speeches of opposition members delivered in the Legislature of even legitimately organising support for the Opposition in the House. Members of the Assembly who expressed their intention of crossing the floor in the House were put under arrest. In certain cases resignations were extorted under the pressure of this monstrous law and instances are not wanting where the members were publicly threatened of getting them involved in fabricated criminal cases if they failed to support the Government party.

Indian money is being lavishly used for organising gangsters for looting, insulting and publicly flogging respectable citizens who do not see eye to eye with the ruling party. Colossal amounts borrowed on interest from India are used in corrupting public life and thereby purchasing the public conscience. It is, however, gratifying to note that all these dirty methods have so far failed to corrupt the people into submission, and with one voice they demand the fulfilment of the promise made to them by India, Pakistan and United Nations to exercise their right of self-determination in a free and democratic manner.

The Indian press, almost without exception, is positively hostile to all tendencies in favour of the plebiscite. Any Indian newspaper writing in favour of the fulfilment of the promise held out by India to people of Kashmir or criticizing the present administration in Kashmir is immediately bribed or blackmailed and its entry into the State banned. Foreign correspondents are seldom allowed in and if and when such a journalist finds his way to the Valley every precaution

is taken that he does not get a peep into the realities of the situation. There is virtual iron curtain over the Valley. No citizen dare to approach a visitor to acquaint him with the tale of his misery for fear of gestapo and subsequent torture. I challenge anyone to refute it. Under an impartial agency the scathing sea of resentment of Kashmiris will be unleashed and a real picture will come to light in those circumstances alone. Recent civic elections held in Srinagar and in Jammu afford a proof positive of oppressive and fraudulent practices of the ruling party in Kashmir. Muslim organizations and political bodies with overwhelming Muslim membership completely boycotted these elections. Some Hindu opposition organizations however contested these elections against the ruling party. The Hindu press, both in and outside the State, has published a surprising account of corruption, malpractices, impersonation and fraudulent methods used in these elections by the ruling party. It was through these shady means that the ruling party has secured all the seats in the Srinagar Municipal Corporation and majority in the Jammu Corporation.

16. Kashmiris are facing untold miseries during the present phase of their history. No progress—economic or political—is possible under such circumstances. Kashmir has become an oozing sore in the body politic of the subcontinent. It has embittered beyond measures relations between the two countries. The two armies facing each other across the cease-fire line, constitute a potential powder magazine which may flare up any time into a devastating war. Its consequences are too grim to imagine. In such an eventuality Kashmir will be wiped out completely—and far worse may happen. Is the world conscience so dead as not to wake up in time ?

If a member of the world organisation is so easily to denounce international commitments and trample over without qualms the human rights of millions it will, I am afraid, deal a death blow on the effectiveness of the Security Council, will shock the confidence of small nations in the world organisation and endanger world peace.

17. On behalf of the millions of Kashmiris and in the name of peace and progress of hundreds of millions of the subcontinent I appeal to Your Excellencies to firmly stand by the pledges of the Security Council and execute its decision. I also appeal to the freedom-loving countries of the world, to those who have signed the United Nations Charter and pledged themselves to honour it in word and deed as well as to those nations whose leaders have fought and given their lives to establish people's right of self-determination, to rise above international differences and disputes and lend a firm and unanimous support to the right four million down-trodden Kashmiris and allow them to decide their own future in a free and democratic atmosphere. That alone will end the agony of the people of Kashmir and eliminate a grave danger to peace.

Yours sincerely,

S. M. Abdullah.

APPENDIX III

WORLD CONDEMNS NEHRU

Here are few of the numerous comments on India's Kashmir policy which have appeared in newspapers throughout the world. But even this fraction of world opinion on Kashmir not only exposes Nehru and proves the justness of Pakistan's case but serves to limelight a dispute which is potentially capable of creating a situation far more serious than we are prone to imagine or believe at present.

APPENDIX III

World Condemns Nehru

THE DAILY MAIL, LONDON

Pakistan, which wants India to obey the United Nations and allow her troops into Kashmir, has referred the Kashmir issue to the Security Council. She insists that Nehru, who attacked Britain and France for not obeying the United Nations over Suez, should himself obey the U.N. ruling for a free plebiscite in Kashmir.

—*January* 9, 1957.

THE NEW COMMONWEALTH, LONDON

The Kashmir dispute is once more in the forefront of the news, and as long as India continues to defy the United Nations' call for a plebiscite, there it will remain, clamouring for attention since it outrages conscience and commonsense alike.

Mr. Nehru had intimated in a remarkable moment of candour that the reason why India fought against the proposal that there should be a United Nations' plebiscite in Hungary is, that it would provide an awkward precedent for a situation nearer home. Much of Mr. Nehru's moralizing on the conduct of other powers now seems to many people as cant of the most

nauseous kind, put up as a smokescreen behind which to practise his own aggression.

—*January* 7, 1957.

THE EXPRESSEN, STOCKHOLM

It is rather typical that Nehru who, in other connections, likes to act as a spokesman of "world conscience" and upholds U.N. sovereignty in international disputes, in the case of Kashmir refuses to agree to hold the plebiscite which the U.N. has requested. He is afraid that Kashmir, which is mainly populated by Muslims, would vote in favour of accession to Pakistan.

—*January* 7, 1957.

THE SUNDAY EXPRESS, LONDON

Mr. Nehru had no hesitation in attacking Britain's Suez policy in the United Nations. He proved himself our open and dangerous enemy. Let Britain now be open about Mr. Nehru, for in grabbing Kashmir this hypocritical man, who censures colonialism and the use of force so loftily elsewhere, is guilty of blatant aggression. —*January* 6, 1957.

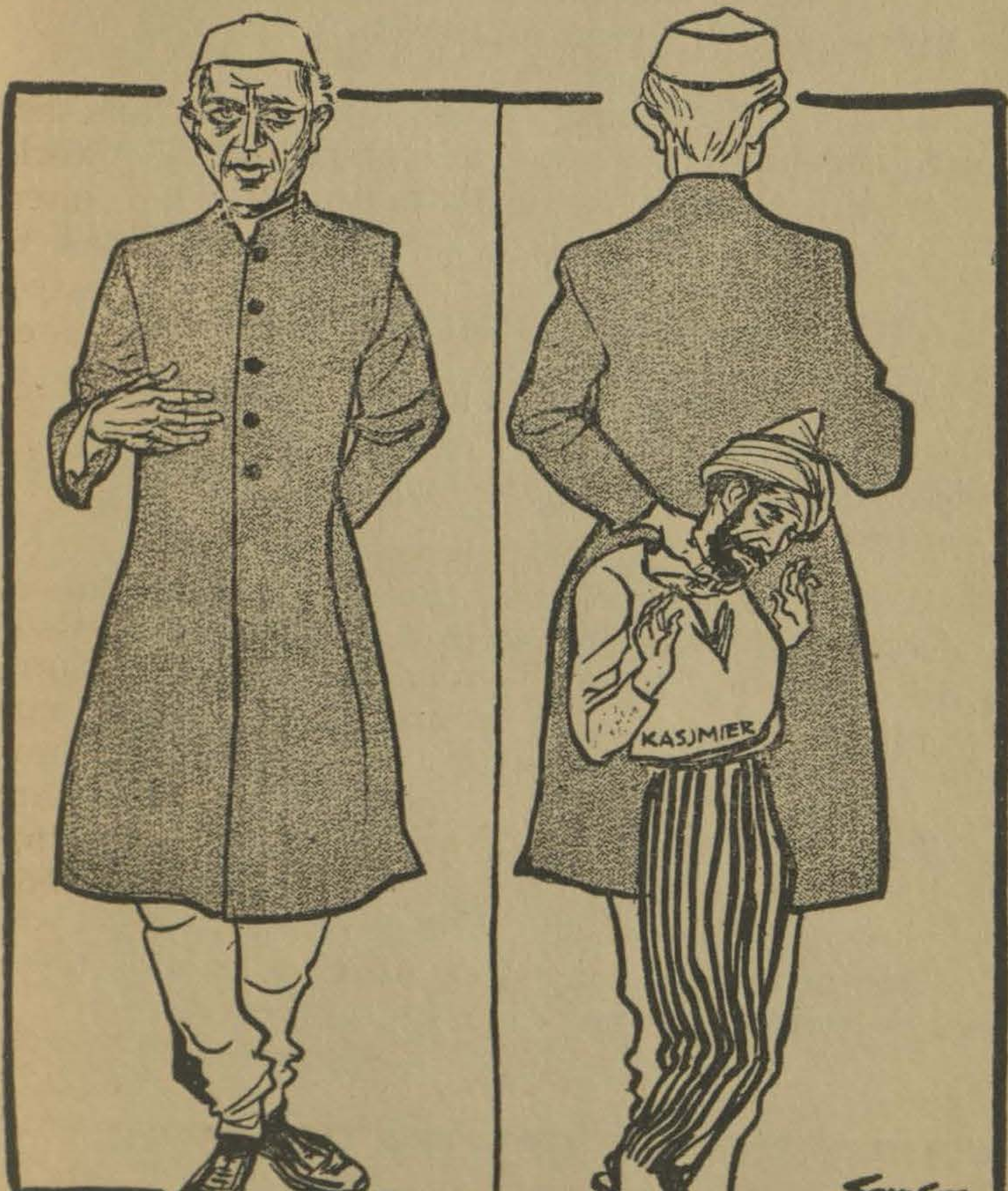
THE GUMHURIYET, ISTANBUL

There is a well-known story. A shepherd went to a Kazi and said: "Mr. Kazi! while crossing the bridge an ox pushed another ox into the river. The ox which fell, got drowned. What should be done?"

The Kazi promptly replied: "They just pushed against one another and one of them fell down. So there is nothing to be done."

"But it was your ox that got drowned."

DE TELEGRAAF (Amsterdam), *January* 31, 1957



Moralist of the World : Seen from the back

At this the Kazi took the book near him and said: "Oh! then it is a different matter." (Exactly what Mr. Nehru said.)

Then the shepherd said: "Because it is your ox, it becomes a different matter."

I need add nothing except that those who talk of neutrality, humanity and universal justice should not contradict themselves so blatantly.

—*December* 17, 1956.

THE NEWS CHRONICLE, LONDON

Alone of the non-Communist countries, India voted with the Soviet bloc against the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and free elections under U.N. supervision.

What he left unsaid was that the U.N. resolution demanded exactly the terms that Pakistan has been trying to secure for Kashmir. To have voted against Russia might have caused India embarrassment at home.

This is logical, political reasoning. Nobody denies the need to settle the Kashmir problem. But it also shows, with sad and brutal clarity, that even world statesmen can have feet of clay when their national interests become directly concerned.

—*November* 17, 1956.

THE TIMES OF CEYLON, COLOMBO

If Pakistan does break away from the Colombo powers, one reason for its action is bound to be its differences with India over Kashmir. It loses no opportunity to raise the question, and as long as it

nurses this grievance, Asia is to that extent weak in moral force, for India's own position is affected by the unresolved issue. In fact it has leen suggested that India has been less downright in condemning Soviet Russian intervention in Hungary than the Anglo-French aggression in Egypt because there is this Kashmir skeleton in its cupboard.

—*November* 16, 1956.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, NEW YORK

This Kashmir question is a thorny one. There have been mistakes on both sides and each has publicized the mistakes of the other. But right in the beginning Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, declared that the equitable solution must be based upon popular plebiscite in which the Kashmiris could express freely their desire as to their political future. He was right then, and the principle that he proclaimed is still valid. It is deplorable that his Government has departed from it.

This unilateral action on the part of India does not, in our judgment, relieve the United Nations of its responsibility. The Kashmir issue is still before the United Nations and the international body has committed itself not merely to a cease-fire in the hostilities that have taken place but to the larger framework of a free, popular ballot under external supervision. Pakistan has accepted this mode of solution. India has blocked it and has now attempted to circumvent it.

—*November* 3, 1956.

THE WASHINGTON POST

What brought Kashmir again into the limelight was the news that Pakistan intended to ask the United

Nations for a clarification of the Kashmir Assembly's vote. The Kashmir action was certainly questionable. But even more so was New Delhi's acceptance of it. The status of Kashmir still has to be determined in concert with Pakistan. The Indian delegation to the United Nations in 1951 accepted a U.N. resolution that any such decision as has just been made in Kashmir could be considered only an expression of opinion. The United Nations is a party at interest in a matter which the Kashmir Assembly (Indian dominated, of course) sought to finalize.

—*December* 12, 1956.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Nehru himself Kashmir born, proposed some years ago that a plebiscite be held in Kashmir under United Nations' supervision to allow people to vote on whether they wished to join India or Pakistan. Pakistan agreed. India balked, and has balked ever since.

It is a puzzling situation. Nehru, who criticizes others for warmongering, acts to encourage war in his own backyard. Nehru, who preaches the self-determination of peoples, refuses to allow the Kashmiris to determine their future. —*April* 6, 1956.

THE NEDA-I-HAQ, TEHERAN

Mr. Nehru, who talks much about peace and justice, is not prepared to practise these principles himself. It appears that whenever his personal interests are at stake, Mr. Nehru throws all his professions to the wind. For instance, in Egypt's case, Mr. Nehru insisted that the U.N. resolution should be implemented

TIME & TIDE (London), *February* 2, 1957



but when it comes to Kashmir the Indian Prime Minister sees no need of implementing the U.N. resolution.

—*January* 17, 1957.

THE NEWS CHRONICLE, LONDON

Today Kashmir is virtually a police state. Two crack Indian army divisions stand by in case Pakistan decides to step in as she did in 1948.

Mr. Nehru—a democrat to his sensitive finger-tips—would be horrified by the lack of freedom if he did visit Kashmir. Unfortunately, he has a closed mind over the dispute. He sees only three things:

(1) Pakistan committed aggression against Kashmir in 1948.

(2) A plebiscite would mean bloodshed and possibly a communist coup.

(3) Russia, pro-Indian over Kashmir and the United States, Pakistan's allies, might intervene and provoke a world war.

Kashmir would not matter so much if Mr. Nehru had not set himself up as moral Adviser-in-Chief to the West. That exquisite land has become his Achilles Heel.

—*January* 16, 1957.

THE DAILY EXPRESS, LONDON

Today the U.N. goes on trial. It is a fraudulent body steeped in hypocrisy or is it a disinterested arbitrator? The matter can now be settled openly.

For today the Security Council is to discuss Kashmir. It is a splendid test case.

INFORMACIONES (Madrid), *February* 9, 1957



"But, how is that you don't want to bring it up?"

A Muslim state, which plainly should belong to Pakistan, was grabbed by Nehru eight years ago. Ever since it has been held down by tens of thousands of his soldiers—and in ten days from today he is to "incorporate" it in India.

Will the U.N. tolerate this impudent grab? Or will it insist on a plebiscite with a U.N. Police Force to ensure fairplay? —*January* 16, 1957.

THE SCOTSMAN, EDINBURGH

The only real parallel between Kashmir and Goa is that India wants both, and is determined to have them, no matter what the rights of the case may be.

—*January* 16, 1957.

THE TRUTH, SYDNEY

Though the Security Council has said that there must be demilitarization of Kashmir and a free and impartial plebiscite to determine the question of accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan, Nehru's Government has flagrantly flouted this. It is maintaining a number of divisions in Kashmir and so rendering a "free and impartial plebiscite," out of question.

Unless he dissociates himself from this outburst, he cannot blame the world if it brands him as a fraud.

—*January* 13, 1957.

THE RECORDER, LONDON

Only a few people in Britain will regret the Government's likelihood of supporting Pakistan's demand to the Security Council to enforce U.N. decision for a

plebiscite in Kashmir. But, those few friends of Nehru are influential.

Nehru knows that Muslim Kashmir would elect to join Pakistan and it is prevented only by Nehru's armed "colonialism." —*January* 12, 1957.

THE MORGENBLADET, OSLO

Obviously, this is rather a tricky business for Nehru who always talks about peace and justice among nations. To escape the difficulty, he has resorted to tricky arguments, although he has always criticized other countries when they used such arguments to justify their demands. In the existing situation, New Delhi points out that political stability is absolutely necessary in Kashmir on account of the Chinese penetration in Tibet and Nepal, and because the Indian Communists are concentrating their activities more and more in the northern parts of India. According to Indian Government circles, a plebiscite in Kashmir would only lead to armed struggle and bloodshed, and the result may be the Communists' infiltration in the country. The entire argument seems unduly sophistical, but it is evidently circulated for the Americans and their fear of the Communist ghost.

—*December* 28, 1956.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, SYDNEY

The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, has exposed himself as the number one impostor of the international scene.

Mr. Nehru parades as a man of peace; and idealist; a staunch champion of the United Nations.

He picks up garlands in Moscow and White House dinners in Washington and accepts them as his due.

From Bandung to Edinburgh people have been beguiled by his act.

The climax of the Kashmir question, however, exposed Mr. Nehru for what he is.

He wants Kashmir. That is all there is to it. The man of peace ceases to be a man of peace; the champion of the United Nations thumbs his nose at the world organization; the exalted arbiter of international behaviour becomes a *thug*.

—*January* 29, 1957.

THE DAILY MIRROR, LONDON

Remember Gandhi?

He had a favourite rebuke for his disciples when they made a serious error.

"What a Himalayan blunder", Gandhi used to say. A blunder as gigantic as the mountain peaks of the Himalayas.

If Gandhi were alive today, he would say that Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, had made a Himalayan blunder in annexing most of Kashmir.

The United Nations told Nehru not to take over this disputed buffer State between India and Pakistan. But he went his own way. —*January* 29, 1957.

THE BERNER TAGWACHT, BERNE

India, which likes to play the role of a great promoter of peace in world conflicts, suddenly finds itself put in the wrong through the United Nations'

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (Manchester), *January* 30, 1957



You won't need this now. . .

resolution on Kashmir. The fact that India has annexed Kashmir, in spite of the Security Council's orders to the contrary, constitutes the worst possible judgment on Indian leaders' understanding of the world situation.

—*January* 29, 1957.

PEDOMAN, DJAKARTA

Mr. Nehru and his friends in India would be angry with those who may put them at par with Russia, because, like Russia rejecting the United Nations' resolution on Hungary, India has rejected the United Nations' resolution on Kashmir.

—*January* 29, 1957.

THE WASHINGTON STAR, WASHINGTON

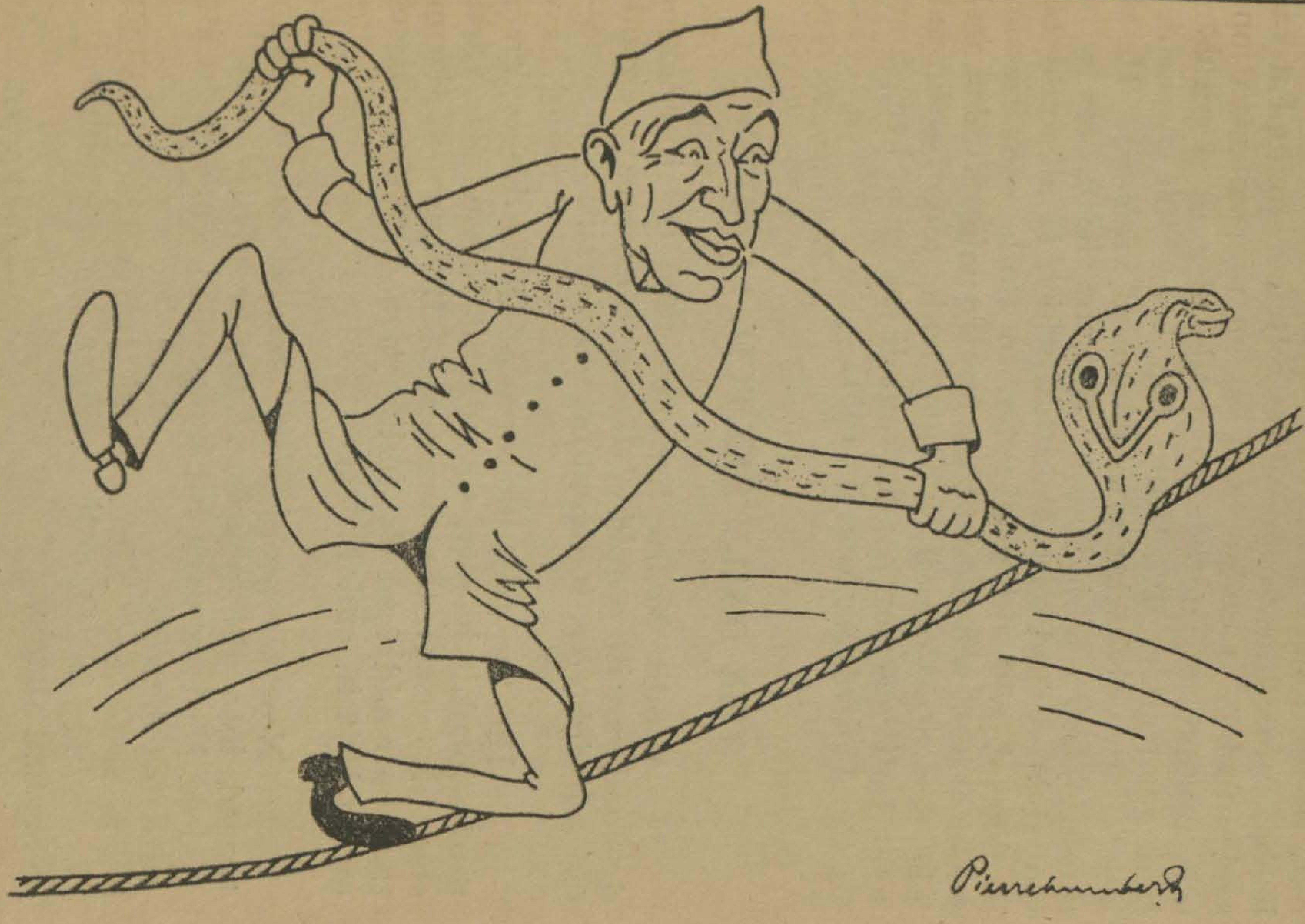
India's contemptuous disregard of the United Nations' opinion on the Kashmir question is shocking and discouraging. Equally so is its disregard for whatever may be the wishes of the Kashmiri people—promised nearly a decade ago that they would have the same right to political self-determination given to all Indian States when the subcontinent was partitioned. Indeed, India's offence in this matter is compounded by the fact that it was Nehru himself who first proposed after the Partition that Kashmiri sentiment—on whether the State wished to join India or Pakistan or become independent—should be established through a free vote of the people.

—*January* 28, 1957.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, MANCHESTER

India has defied the Security Council and integrated Kashmir. Mr. Nehru can look back on succeed-

LUZERNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN (Luzern), *January* 25, 1957



Nehru's difficulty in balancing himself—
"I don't know, but it always pulls me hard to left".

ing in the long game he has played with Pakistan, but, in the longer game of keeping the world at peace he has injured his own position. By occupying Kashmir and refusing to budge by delaying the plebiscite upon one pretext or another until the idea of a plebiscite had gone stale, Mr. Nehru has been able to achieve what he wanted with a minimum of violence. He has most of India behind him. But for the future he has stored up a feud with Pakistan which in all reasonable likelihood will bring disaster to both countries and which at least will distort their foreign policies indefinitely. The Security Council is bound to be angry—the more so as India's action is a flagrant disregard of her promise to the United Nations in 1951.

—*January* 28, 1957.

THE DAILY SKETCH, LONDON

Pandit Nehru has presented the international do-gooders with a golden chance to exercise their talent for self-righteous indignation once again.

But the most unctuous of all the do-gooders and professional holy men was Pandit Nehru. He tride to shut his eyes to the massacre of Hungary in the hope that he could turn the indignation of the world solely on to Britain and France.

Now the prophet of international morality has turned into the pharisee. He has flatly defied the United Nations over Kashmir and he means to go on with his defiance.

He is not only a sinner but a stubbornly unrepentent sinner.

—*January* 28, 1957.

BASLER ARBEITERZEITUNG (Basle), *February* 2, 1957



Nehru: "UNO—I don't care. . . ."
(There is a pun on the word 'Kashmir'—
"Kasch mir"—I don't care.)

THE L'AURORE, PARIS

Usually prompt at condemning the lack of international morals when it concerns the West, Nehru snubs the United Nations and annexes Kashmir.

The impotence of the United Nations to settle this litigation, already nine years old, and the annexation proclaimed officially day before yesterday by the Government of New Delhi, revives passion.

Whose fault is this? Not exclusively Nehru's but of the United Nations. Because, while entirely agreeing with the principles enunciated by Pakistan, the Security Council has refused to send to the spot international forces to supervise the holding of a plebiscite.

—*January* 28, 1957.

YA, MADRID

Following the pathetic downfall of Hungary and recent difficulties in Sinai desert and Gulf of Akaba, the United Nations has suffered one of the severest blows their prestige has ever received. And, this attack has been delivered by a man who, during the last few months, has most frequently invoked the authority of the United Nations and made greatest show of pacifism and moderation. This man is Nehru.

His dear principles have gone up in smoke, and, by deliberately ignoring the resolution passed by the Security Council, he has integrated Kashmir with India in the way as the infamous annexation in Europe during the last 30 years which ultimately resulted in the Second Great War.

—*January* 28, 1957.

THE NATION, RANGOON

To all objective observers it is an open case of stubbornness on the part of India and particularly of Nehru who has shown himself capable in this issue of flouting every one of the principles which he so ardently preaches to other countries when they face their own problems. Nehru, the leader, the dispenser of advice, is on the Kashmir issue deaf to all arguments. Menon, in the Security Council, recently showed the obvious hypocrisy of India's case when he said she would not agree to a plebiscite because Pakistan had not yet removed the Azad Kashmir forces while neglecting to mention that the present Government of Kashmir was put into office with the aid of the Indian forces who are still there.

—*January* 28, 1957.

THE HET PAROOL, AMSTERDAM

At midnight India formally annexed Kashmir. It has thus ignored the very recent request of ten out of eleven members of the Security Council (Russia abstained) to maintain *status quo* for the time being. After Russia in Hungary has recently ignored the United Nations' appeal, India has now delivered a blow to the prestige of the peoples' organization by ignoring an urgent appeal, now that it does not suit Prime Minister Nehru's policy.

Thus India's Prime Minister has—on his country's National Day—furnished the hundredth proof that he is a rock-hard politician respecting nobody and nothing, who snaps his fingers at all sorts of considerations when he wants to serve his own political purposes.

—*January* 26, 1957.

THE SOUTHERN DAILY ECHO, SOUTHAMPTON

Mr. Nehru, many people feel, would find a readier audience for his peace sermons in the West if he followed his own advice nearer home.

We may grant that the Kashmir affair is a very complex one, but the Indian Premier does not prove his case by refusing to allow the people of this disputed State to express an opinion about their future.

His opposition to Pakistan's demand that a plebiscite should be held under U.N. auspices seems to be based on fear of the result.

—*January* 24, 1957.

THE DAILY TRIBUNE, CHICAGO

Nehru who once favoured a plebiscite himself, is no longer interested since he holds the country with sixty thousand troops and has an Assembly of his choice in charge. This fellow is always frowing on military organization as a means of defence against communism but where his own interests are concerned, he is not at all averse to procuring a decision by force.

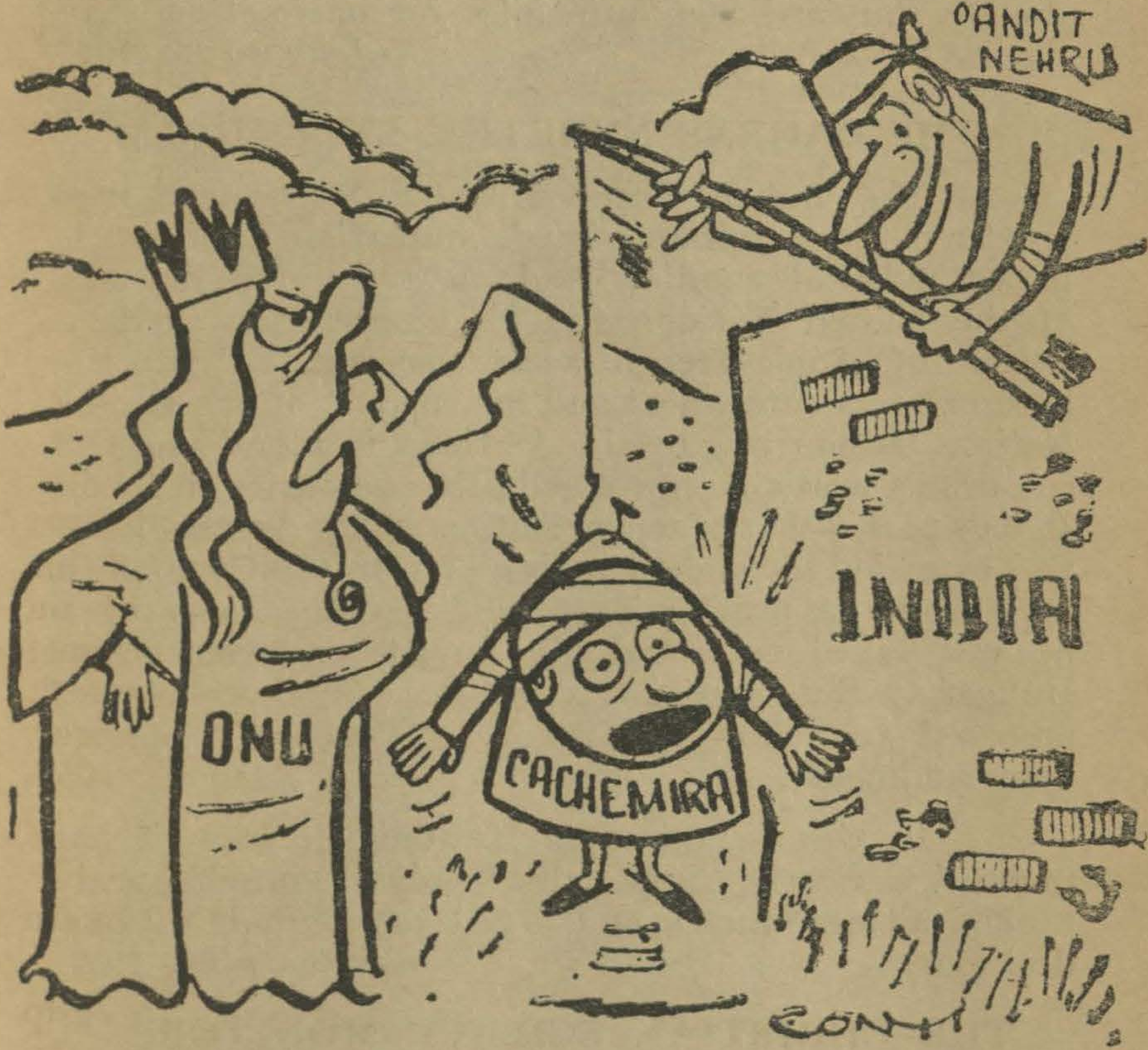
—*January* 30, 1957.

THE DAILY EXPRESS, LONDON

What should be done about wrongdoer Nehru of India?

Moral censure will not force him to relax his grip on Kashmir. Far stronger measures are needed to punish him for defying the Security Council. If U.N. is to be taken seriously, let it get tough with Nehru and apply sanctions. Tell the nations to stop exporting goods to India. Tell the World Bank to halt the flow of loans to New Delhi.

LINEA (Murcia), *February* 1, 1957



"Get away! Are you also being naughty?"

Nehru, as leader of the anti-colonial nations, may feel himself strong enough to defy U.N. Let U.N. prove itself stronger.

Sanctions are the test. Failure to put them into operation against India will finally expose U.N.'s double standard high principles for one nation, expediency for another. —*January* 30, 1957.

THE DAGENS NYHETER, STOCKHOLM

The Indian Prime Minister Nehru has often appeared as a self-appointed, impartial mediator in major political conflicts and as a devoted defender of the United Nations and its Charter; his condemnation of Anglo-French action against Egypt, last autumn, was categorical and his support of the United Nations' action was total. At times in moralizing and censorious words he has urged other countries to follow India's path—that of reconciliation and understanding—and extended his understanding even to the Communist oppressors; he procrastinated and smoothed over when he was asked to brand the Soviet enslavement of Hungary. But politician Nehru has not shown himself prepared to follow consistently "preacher" Nehru's commandments.

In the dispute over Kashmir he himself has pursued a clearly "imperialist" policy, himself openly broken all agreements and defied the United Nations' decisions. —*January* 30, 1957.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, BOSTON

New Delhi's cold war with Pakistan over Kashmir has subtly detracted from Nehru's ceaseless efforts to promote peace in the world's larger cold war.

YENI SABAH (Istanbul), *January* 31, 1957



Indian Music

India's decision against a plebiscite in Kashmir has also tended to weaken Nehru's moral stand for self-determination in other areas.

Perhaps India hoped to case these inconsistencies by the finality of its legal assimilation of Kashmir. Time and continued good administration might indeed have this effect.

But for the present New Delhi has succeeded only in making itself appear in the wrong before the eyes of much of the world.

Physically India can maintain its *de facto* control of the richer half of Kashmir with little trouble. Only a renewal of 1948 war would change that. But morally Kashmir is more than ever a weak spot in the strong body of Indian diplomacy. —*January* 29, 1957.

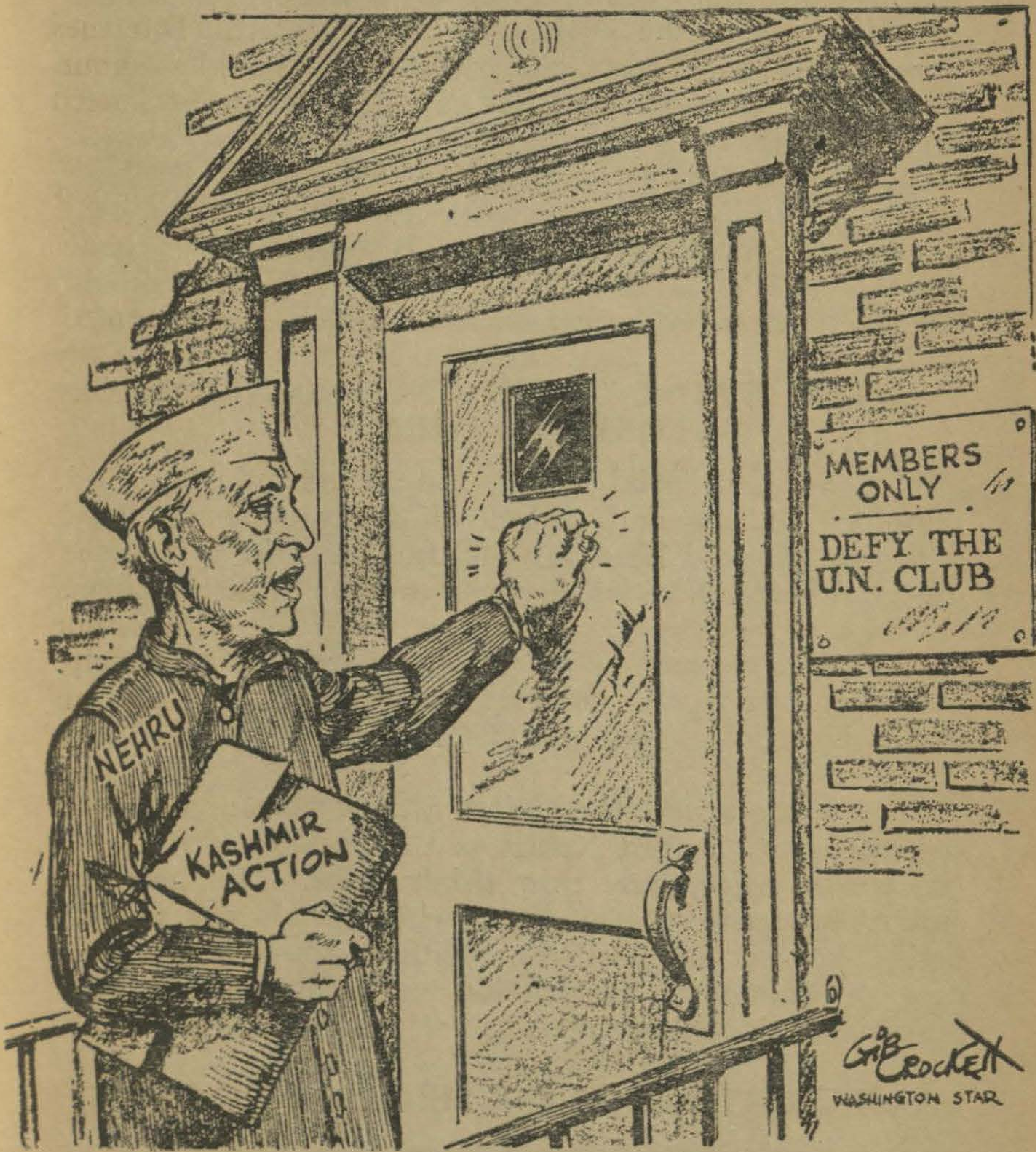
GELDERLANDER PERS, HAGUE

Nehru always referred to the United Nations for solving international problems, but in the Kashmir question he has not only refused to carry out a plebiscite as recommended by the U.N. to give the people, an opportunity to decide for themselves whether they want to join Pakistan or India, but he has even gone further; he has ignored the Security Council resolution and annexed the part of Kashmir occupied by Indian troops. In the light of this attitude, one can only look upon the great Nehru as a hypocrite who played towards the U.N. the role of Brutus. —*January* 29, 1957.

THE MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS, MANCHESTER

Mr. Nehru set himself up to the world as the great upholder of justice, the enemy of war and the

THE SUNDAY STAR (Washington D. C.), *January* 27, 1957



His Credentials Seem to Be in Order

champion of the United Nations. India and Pakistan have been trying who should have Kashmir. India has a strong legal claim, Pakistan is irrevocably linked by religion and the problem is complicated. But the fairest way is a plebiscite among the people—as in fact the Security Council has so ruled. However, self-righteous Mr. Nehru has flouted the U.N. and brought into force a new constitution which makes Kashmir a part of India. He has taken the law into his own hands in a far worse way than Britain—on whom he poured scorn—in the Middle East. Nehru should practise what he preaches. —*January* 28, 1957.

THE EVENING SENTINEL, HANLEY, STOKE ON TRENT

So Jawaharlal Nehru, the apostle of peace and upholder of law and order, self-determination, etc., etc., has annexed Kashmir for India in direct defiance of the United Nations Security Council's instructions.

Actions such as the Kashmir grab, so strikingly in contrast with the conduct he demands from others, can only arouse contempt and anger.

Nations, like the United States, who have shown a tendency to regard Nehru as the possible saviour of the world peace, may now think twice. His position as lord justice-in-chief of the world's morals was shaken badly by his hypocritical attitude towards Russia's rape of Hungary. His action in Kashmir may lose him his self-made crown. —*January* 28, 1957.

FRANKFURTHER ALLGEMEINE, FRANKFURT

Strained relations between India and Pakistan are again threatened by a new shock. India completes

the accession of Kashmir, defying the decision of the United Nations. Nehru's action, which is based on the desire of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the decision of the State Constituent Assembly, competence of which is doubted, rejects the plebiscite. Nehru's action does not suit his ideal of playing the role of the solicitor for self-determination of nations. Nehru should himself practise the principles and ideals before he recommends them to others. —*January* 28, 1957.

THE A. B. C., MADRID

There are very few international conflicts in which right appears so clearly as it does in the case of the legal dispute over Kashmir.

New Delhi's decision influenced the vote of the Srinagar Assembly and it is well known that in the valley of Kashmir Indian bayonets are flashed about and this Assembly, if it can be so called, does not reflect the will of the people.

The Security Council has opposed the Indian plan to integrate the State and has called upon India to afford the State people an opportunity to express their will. Here Nehru conveniently forgets his own doctrine and the teachings of his master, Gandhi.

—*January* 28, 1957.

THE MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM, WASHINGTON

This, please note, is India whose Prime Minister, Nehru, talks so incessantly about the evils of colonialism and the right of all peoples to self-determination. He whips it up into an almost fanatical fervour. But for Nehru himself and for India it is another matter.

Colonialism for India in Kashmir is "all right" and Nehru is not too careful about how he effectuates it either.

—*January* 24, 1957.

BERLINGSKE AFTENAVIS, COPENHAGEN

Pakistan has done her utmost in the United Nations Headquarters to place India and Prime Minister Jawahirlal Nehru in the dock.

The background is that India has decided to incorporate the mountainous State of Kashmir, Pakistan demands a plebiscite under the United Nations control to decide the future status of Kashmir.

In the Kashmir question Nehru has departed a long way from ideals which are normally expounded by the Indians in international issues which do not affect India's own interests. —*January* 21, 1957.

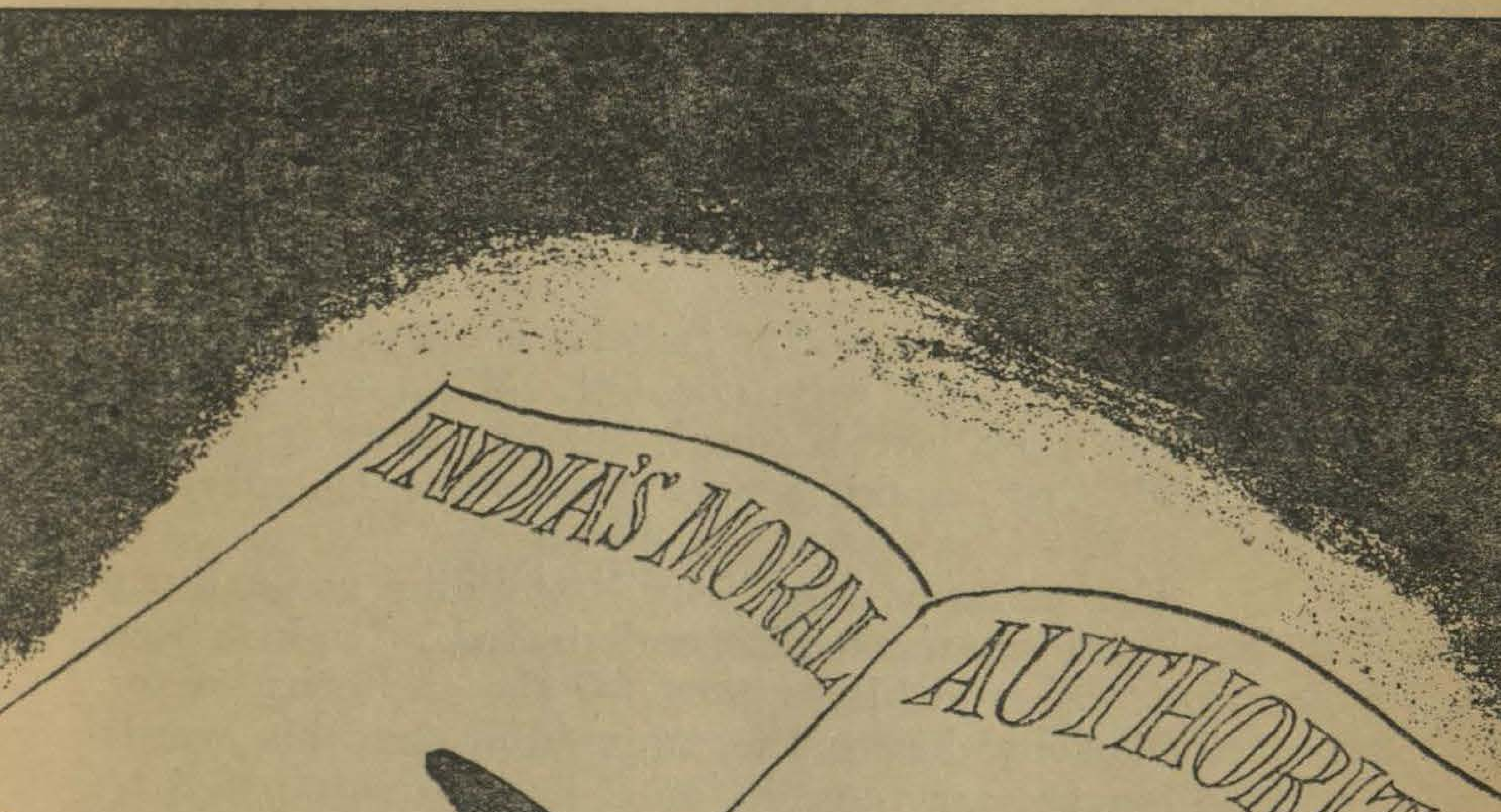
THE EVENING NEWS, SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

The Prime Minister, Nehru of India, one of the busier bees of the international diplomatic set, is a man who is very strong on matter of "self-determination", a term that is being bandied about a good deal these days.

This propensity for minding other people's business, however, is a speciality with Nehru who blindly chooses to ignore the fact that there are bees in his own garden too.

His attitude strictly follows "don't do as I do, do as I say" line of thought. And Kashmir is not the only case in point. Another is Goa, which Nehru has affirmed, will become part of India, and no matter what people think about it including Goans themselves.

DAILY MIRROR (London), *January* 30, 1957



On the book of India's Moral Authority, 'Kashmir' is a blot

Someone should officially mention these matters to Nehru in case they have slipped his mind next time he starts making speeches about independence.

—*January* 18, 1957.

THE IRISH TIMES, DUBLIN

Nevertheless, it is hard to see what India hopes to gain in the long run by her studied pretence that the Kashmir problem does not exist.

Until the plebiscite is held, the Pakistanis will feel that they have been cheated. With the tempers as high as they are, Kashmir might again become a battlefield that could across the subcontinent.

Furthermore, Mr. Nehru's standing as an international statesman must be endangered. He has been most outspoken in his support for the authority of the United Nations during the Suez affair, but his words will no longer carry conviction if he is not prepared to follow the United Nations' rulings in his own case.

Even if the Security Council accepts India's contention that Pakistan was the actual aggressor in Kashmir, the problem will not be solved thereby. The Kashmiris must be allowed to decide their own future as soon as possible. —*January* 18, 1957.

THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR, INDIANAPOLIS

That model preacher of anti-colonial democracy for everybody, the Indian Prime Minister Nehru has got his tail in a crack. It is going to be interesting to see how Nehru squirms out of this one.

The crack is a place called Kashmir which Nehru wants for India. Pakistan, on the other hand, wants

HAVADIS (Istanbul), *January* 31, 1957



A Fakir of Politics

it for Pakistan. Nine years ago the United Nations' Security Council called for a vote among Kashmiris to find out which country they wanted to belong to. There are some pretty strong signs that vote would go in favour of Pakistan. So Nehru has refused to allow plebiscite to be held. *January* **12, 1957.**

THE DAILY MIRROR, NEW YORK

It is interesting that the United Nations rushed into the Suez situation and is now throwing its weight against Israel, as though it had power; but it petered out when Soviet Russia invaded Hungary and butchered Hungarians; it has lost both its tongue and its will to peace in relation to Kashmir where Nehru, the anti-colonialist, has become Nehru, the imperialist.

The Kashmir situation is of particular value as an index to the character of this man Nehru who poses as apogee of human virtue everywhere except in India. Pakistan has proposed plebiscite for Kashmir which is more Moslem than Hindu; this Nehru has rejected it. The people of Kashmir know better than Nehru does what is good for them. Pakistan has recommended that the United Nations send its police force similar to that which is now parading in parts of Gaza; Nehru rejects that on grounds that no foreign troops may occupy Indian territory by treaty, by consent of people, or by international agreement.

THE ECONOMIST, LONDON

As entertainment for the connoisseur, some of last week's developments in the Kashmir dispute rivalled the hearings on Bernard Shaw's will.

Mr. Krishna Menon, in the course of an eight-hour filibuster, assured the Security Council that no "zero hour" was approaching.

Just two days later, India announced that the new Kashmir constitution had come into force.

The elections in Indian-held Kashmir seem no more likely to resolve the real problem than did the accession to India of a fugitive Maharaja in 1947.

On a real view of its own interests, Delhi would surely be wise to welcome and explore Mr. Suhrawardy's offer to let Pakistan troops in Kashmir be replaced by a U.N. Force. That withdrawal would provide new hopes of ending a quarrel which only Russia—not even China—finds profitable. —*February* 2, 1957.

THE TIME AND TIDE, LONDON

Pakistan has acted with moderation, propriety and restraint under the grossest provocation. The people of Kashmir have not been permitted to express their own desires about their political future. And apart altogether from the manoeuvres in the United Nations, the question must soon be faced. How long can the other nations of the Commonwealth maintain the association with India which India has so manifestly abused? —*February* 2, 1957.

THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION, LONDON

India is in default because she has assumed the right to accept the incorporation of Kashmir on a basis of a decision by a Government which seized power by a *coup d'etat*, imprisoned nine members of the Assembly and has kept the former Kashmir Prime Minister in

jail without trial for more than three years. Even those powers which least wanted to offend India (Britain included) could not vote in support of a *fait accompli* which violated Mr. Nehru's promise of a plebiscite and ran counter to United Nations' resolutions.

—*February* 2, 1957.

THE EVENING STANDARD, LONDON

There is an ever deeper hypocrisy in Mr. Nehru's attitude. No one has proclaimed the overriding authority of the United Nations as the arbiter of international law with more enthusiasm than he.

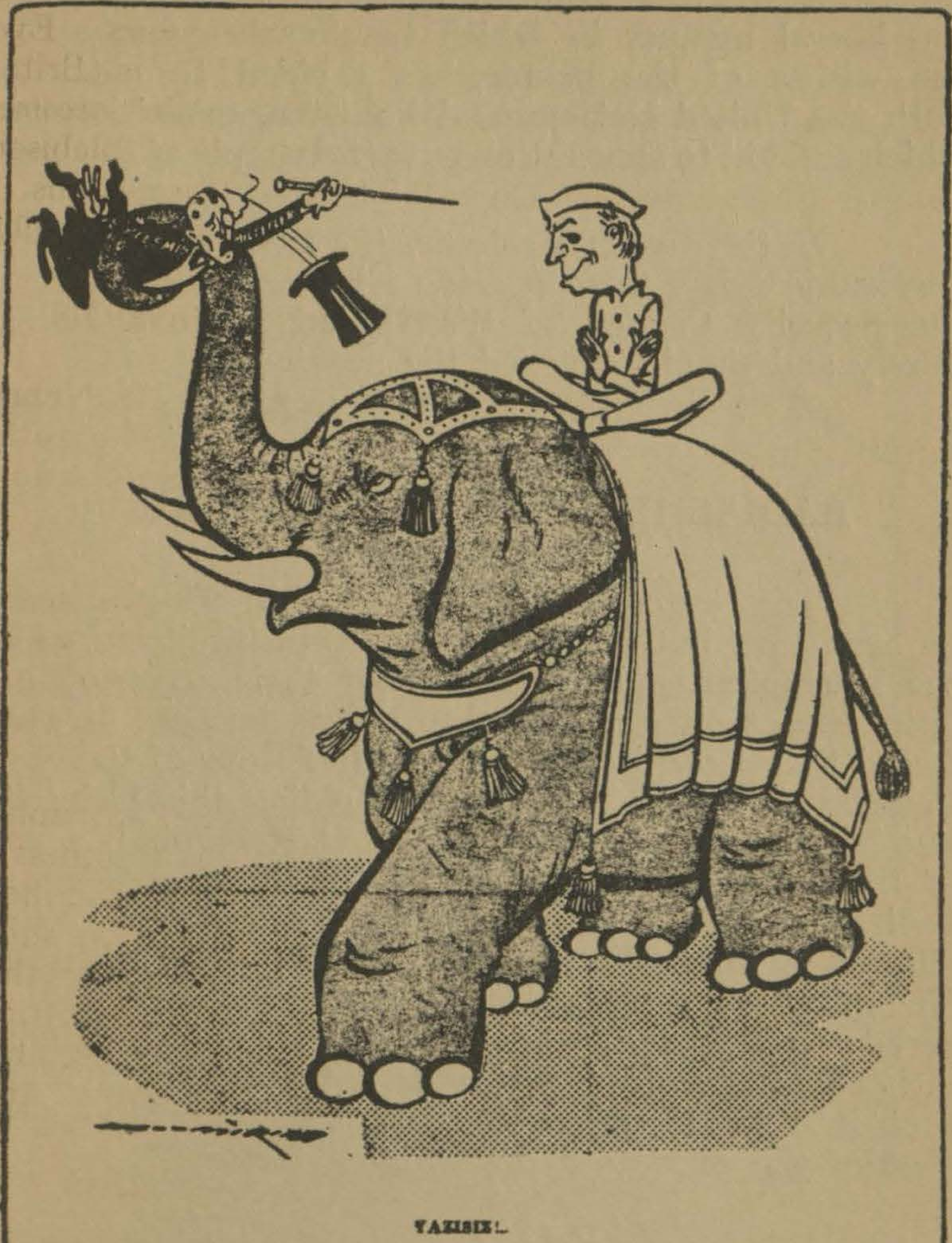
It is not enough for Mr. Nehru to say that he disobeyed because he thought that the U.N. decision over Kashmir was mistaken. The criminal in the dock usually thinks the magistrate on the bench is wrong.

The real test of Mr. Nehru's desire to uphold international law would have been his readiness to obey the United Nations even at the cost of sacrificing his own interests. In this he has failed. He has shown that he puts Indian Imperialism before everything else. Quite cynically he has defied the United Nations, knowing that body's inability to enforce its order about Kashmir.

—*February* 1, 1957.

THE O JORNAL, RIO DE JANEIRO

The attitude of the Government of the Indian Union in annexing the province of Kashmir against the expressed decision of the United Nations to maintain *status quo* until the holding of the plebiscite to determine will of majority has caused great surprise and deception.



"India has annexed Kashmir against the decision of the United Nations".
(The person, the elephant is holding in the trunk, is the United Nations.)

Now Prime Minister Nehru, acting contrary to the liberal manner in which he preaches respect for the wishes of the people, has decided to challenge both the United Nations and Pakistan, practising acts which amount to annexation pure and simple of Kashmir.

In the case of Kashmir, the Head of the Indian Government has thrown aside all scruples and, facing the Security Council of the United Nations, he has purely and simply annexed the province.

—*January* 29, 1957.

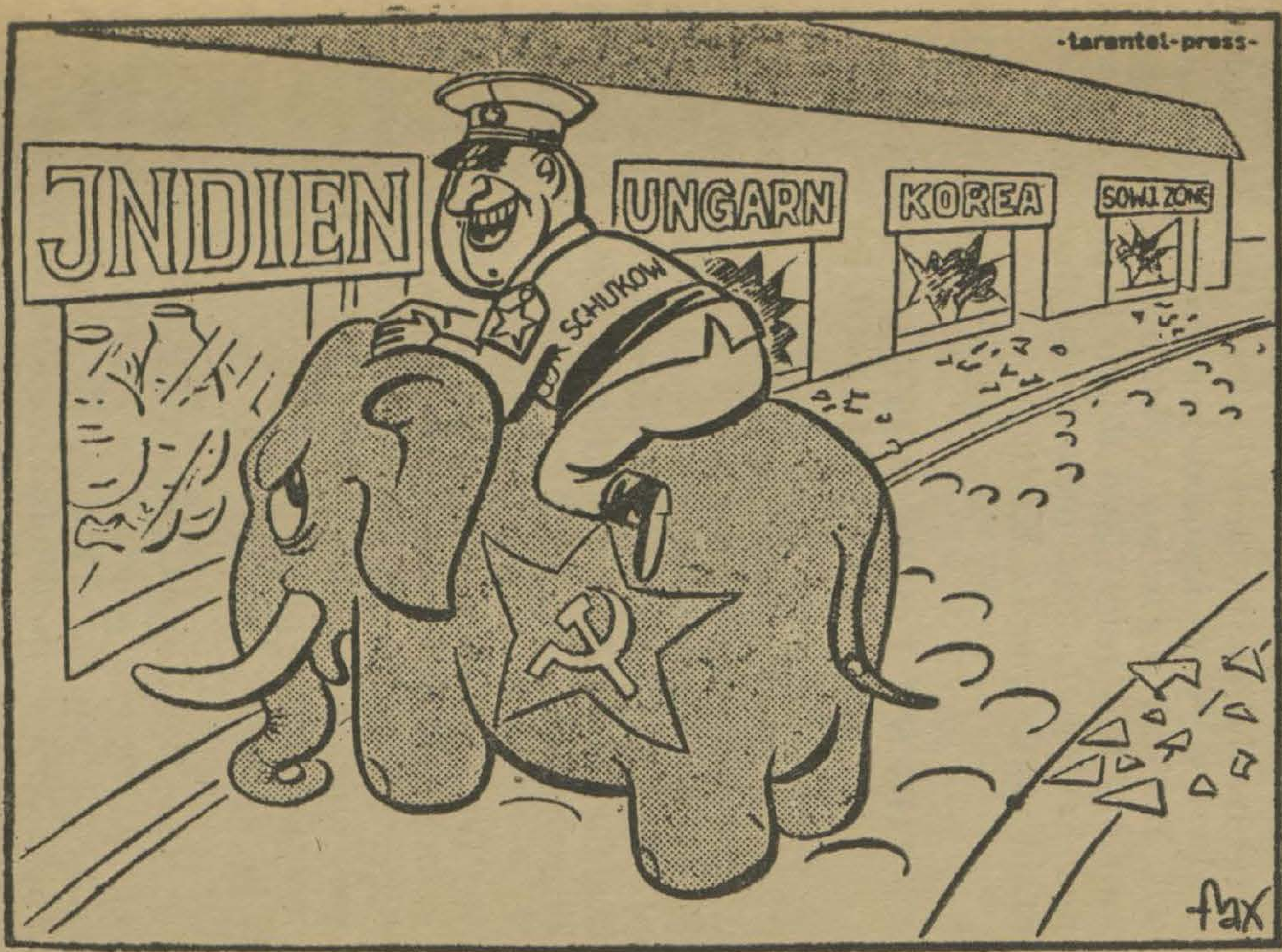
BADISCHE ZEITUNG, FREIBURG

The United Nations succeeded in bringing about an armistice, but its demand for a plebiscite in which the Kashmiris could decide about their accession had been repeatedly rejected by Nehru because he had feared that a plebiscite would be in favour of Pakistan. Pakistan has been insisting on holding this plebiscite, but Nehru had declared today that Kashmir is a part of India as the former ruler of the State acceded to India and a plebiscite would be out of question. Nehru allowed a contradictory principle in 1948, when the Nizam of Hyderabad, a Muslim ruler, intended to accede to Pakistan, whilst his people, mainly Hindus, insisted on accession to India. At that time Nehru took into consideration the will of the people and not that of the ruler as a determining factor.

What was right in the case of Hyderabad should have been valid in the case of Kashmir too, but Nehru is, however, of different opinion.

—*January* 29, 1957.

OBSERVER (Vienna), *February* 3, 1957



"Listen, Ivan, this time you will have to proceed more diplomatically!"

BASLER NACHRICHTEN, BASLE

India—India of Nehru—belongs to Afro-Asian Group which insists on literal fulfilment of the United Nations' resolution by Israel. But this very country has only last week ignored her own undertaking to United Nations regarding right of self-determination of people of Kashmir. And this is in spite of Security Council having decided once again that India should maintain *status quo* in Kashmir.

—*January* 29, 1957.

THE ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

How can Prime Minister Nehru and his Government defend the absorption of Kashmir in defiance of the United Nations especially in defiance of the last minute Security Council resolution, voted ten to zero, calling for preservation of things as they were until a plebiscite could be held?

Where others have been involved, Mr. Nehru has staunchly advocated the use of the United Nations' machinery as a substitute for force and unilateral action. He was quick to deplore, for example, British-French intervention in Egypt. But when the shoe fits his own foot, he does not like its style.

Can the United Nations ignore what India has done ? An agency which does not enforce its authority is liable to lose it. That is why India has struck a hard blow against the United Nations whose jurisdiction it acknowledged by accepting the 1949 Truce. What of India's moralizing about other nations.

—*January* 28, 1957.

SUNDAY NEWS, NEW YORK

If there is any difference except, in the quantity of blood shed up to now, between the way Nehru is acting in Kashmir and the way Kremlin is acting in Hungary, we cannot spot that difference. If there is any reason why Nehru's pious lectures should henceforth be received with any respect by anybody, we cannot spot that reason.

Pakistan is a Mohammedan nation. About 77 per cent of the Kashmiris are Mohammedans. Betting is good that they would vote to join Pakistan in a free election.

Nehru, however, loves Kashmir—his ancestors came from there—and hates Pakistan and up to now he has defied all U.N. urgings to let the Kashmiris vote on their own destiny.

This is the same Nehru, who continually preaches international morality to all the world and pays fervent lip-service to the idea that all peoples should have the right to decide how and by whom they will be governed.

—*February* 10, 1957.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, CHICAGO

For a number of years the chief stock in trade of Nehru of India has been lofty "holier than thou" attitude towards the rest of the world. The latest developments with reference to the disputed territory of Kashmir put these pretences in perspective.

Even in Britain, it seems to be conceded now that Nehru is a phony who talks peace and international conciliation while refusing to yield an inch when his own self-interest is involved. But that has

not deterred him from continuing to object to "colonialism" when other nations are concerned or from preaching the virtues of self-determination in all other areas but Kashmir. —*February* 10, 1957.

U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, WASHINGTON

A new picture of Jawaharlal Nehru, avowed foe of "big power colonialism", appears when you look at his record in the neighbouring State of Kashmir. India's Prime Minister has always wanted Kashmir.

To get it, record shows that he has used troops, gagged the Press, jailed Kashmiri leaders, blocked elections and defied the United Nations.

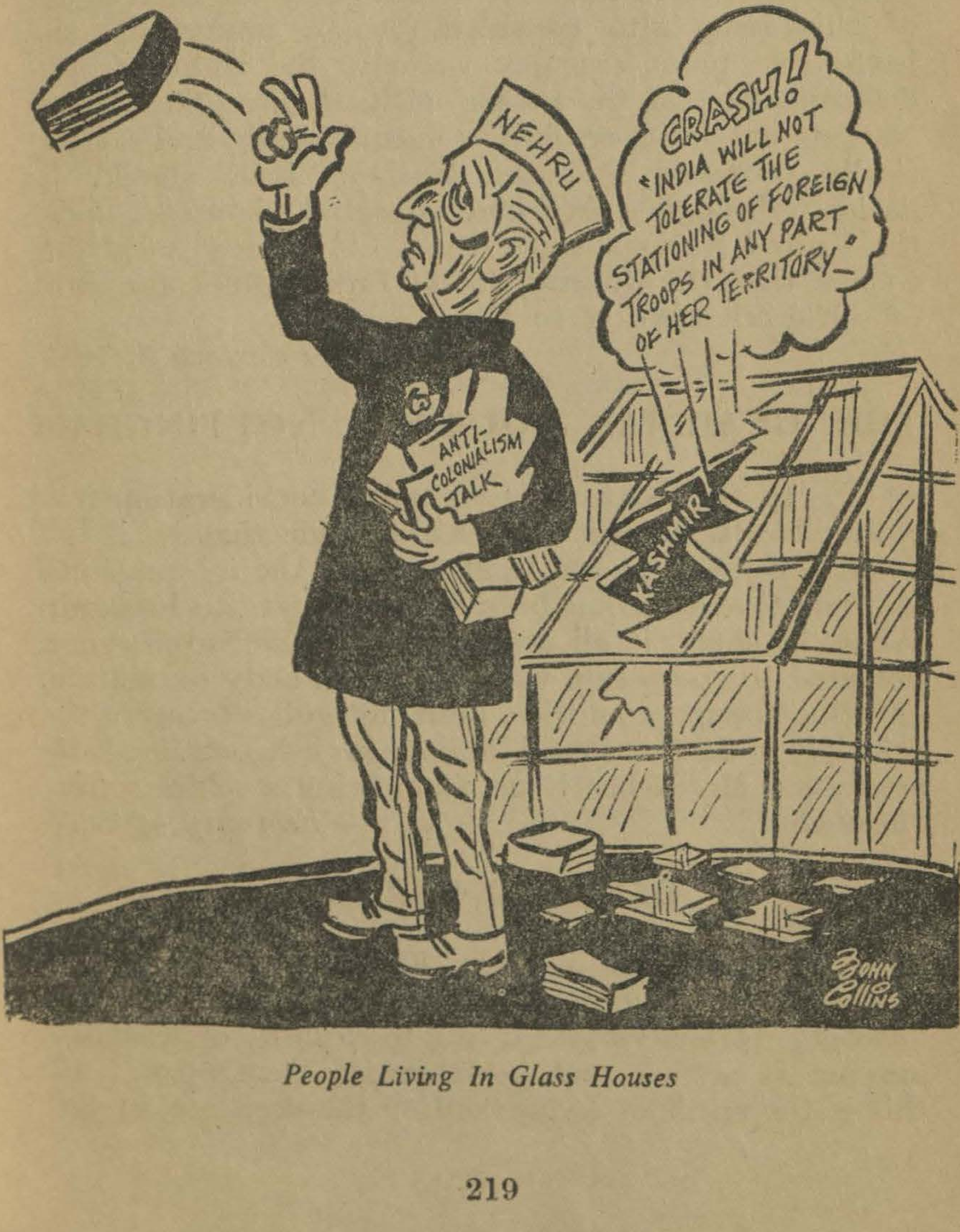
—*February* 8, 1957.

BIRMINGHAM POST, BIRMINGHAM

The Security Council resolution on Kashmir calling for the maintenance of the *status quo* has not wrought the slightest change in India's obdurate attitude.

None of the excuses for abandoning a plebiscite advanced by Mr. Menon at the United Nations—alleged Pakistani aggression the passage of time, changed conditions—touches the main point at the issue which is that India is pledged by the original act of accession and by subsequent United Nations' resolutions to the holding of a plebiscite to determine the will of the people. Is it possible that Mr. Nehru still does not see the harm he had done to his own prestige in exchange for a hazardous territorial advantage? —*February* 5, 1957.

THE GAZETTE (Montreal), *February* 13, 1957



People Living In Glass Houses

ANIS, KABUL

Let us set aside the interpretations of religious, cultural and economic aspects of Kashmir as advanced by Pakistan and India. If we take only the legal aspect of this issue into consideration, an important and irrefutable point emerges, namely, the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir. The United Nations has in its resolution unequivocally and emphatically proposed that the Kashmir issue should be decided through a free and impartial plebiscite under the United Nations' supervision. It is most surprising to find that the Government of India refuses the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris.

—*February* 5, 1957.

THE GUARDIAN JOURNAL, NOTTINGHAM

In the particular case under consideration it is reasonable to support from his attitude that he is not at all certain as to the legality (from the international viewpoint) of what has been done in regard to Kashmir. What, in short, it all amounts to is that while he is prepared to co-operate with the world body on matters affecting foreign countries, he is not going to carry the principle so far that it will impinge his own nationalistic interests. Mr. Nehru is far from being a selfless internationalist !

—*February* 4, 1957.

DERBUND, BERNE

One sees for instance, Kashmir as a big black blot on the white Indian shirt and the United Nations' "*dhoby*", Hammerskjold trying to clean it, or Kashmir appears as an ink spot in otherwise clean book. All this is the result of India flouting the decisions of the

Security Council which directed India to maintain the *status quo* in Kashmir in order to make plebiscite possible there. —*February* 3, 1957.

DIE PRESSE, VIENNA

What are condemnations of military pacts as well as faith in justice worth for if one indulges in moral indignation in the case of Egypt and in the case of Kashmir allows self-interest to guide his conduct ?

The show-boy of the United Nations has failed in his first examination, the Asian pioneer against the "Western Imperialism" has proved himself to be imperialist, the pupil of Mahatma Gandhi has become a preacher of dual morality. —*January* 30, 1957.

HAVADIS, ISTANBUL

The real character of Mr. Nehru's policy of neutrality for peace has been suddenly understood by the Free World after Kashmir has been annexed to India.

Now Nehru, in spite of his tall talk about neutrality, international justice and absolute authority of the United Nations, is an unjust conqueror and aggressor.

All these helped to disclose the true character of Nehru and his double-faced policy. He is no longer a prophet of peace. —*January* 30, 1957.

LA GRUYERE, BULLE

Will Pandit Nehru, a sort of dressed-up monkey, who is lionized sometime in Peking and sometime in

Moscow or Washington, still dare pretend that he does not grimace? The great upholder of the United Nations, exclaiming against the Suez Expedition but keeping quiet about Hungarian massacre, the leader of the Indian Government, has openly violated the decision of the United Nations' Security Council which had expressed its wish that *status quo* in Kashmir should not be changed for the present. Mr. Nehru has snatched away Kashmir right under the nose of Pakistanis. That is what he calls working for the world peace ! There is great upsurge of feeling in Pakistan and the prestige of Nehru has somewhat fallen in political parlours. —*January* 23, 1957

SOLOTHURNER ZEITUNG, SOLOTHURN

India's policy of *fait accompli* proves once again that Machiavellian doctrines are still present even in the minds of those who had hitherto paraded themselves before the world as apostles of peace. The man who fought untiringly for the right of self-determination for Egyptians, was much less keen in asking the same right for Hungary. Nehru passionately stood for the authority of the United Nations when Nasser needed to be protected from the Anglo-French invasion, but he deliberately avoided the quick decision when Soviets brutally oppressed the Hungarians' yearnings for the freedom. Finally, Nehru did not care a bit for this world organization when it requested India to respect the freewill of Kashmir people. —*January* 29, 1957.

AARDORFER ZEITUNG, AARDORF

India, whose leader Nehru otherwise appears as a defender of democracy, justice and lawfulness



You also, India?

throughout the world, has flouted the United Nations' decisions as scrupulously as Communist States. He has at the same time flouted all principles of democracy which, no doubt, will harm his prestige in the world very much.

The Kashmir question is not new and the role played in it by India has always been very dubious. The only trouble was that the Western World, which was troubled by its own worries so far, did not pay much attention to the Kashmir dispute.

—*January* 28, 1957.

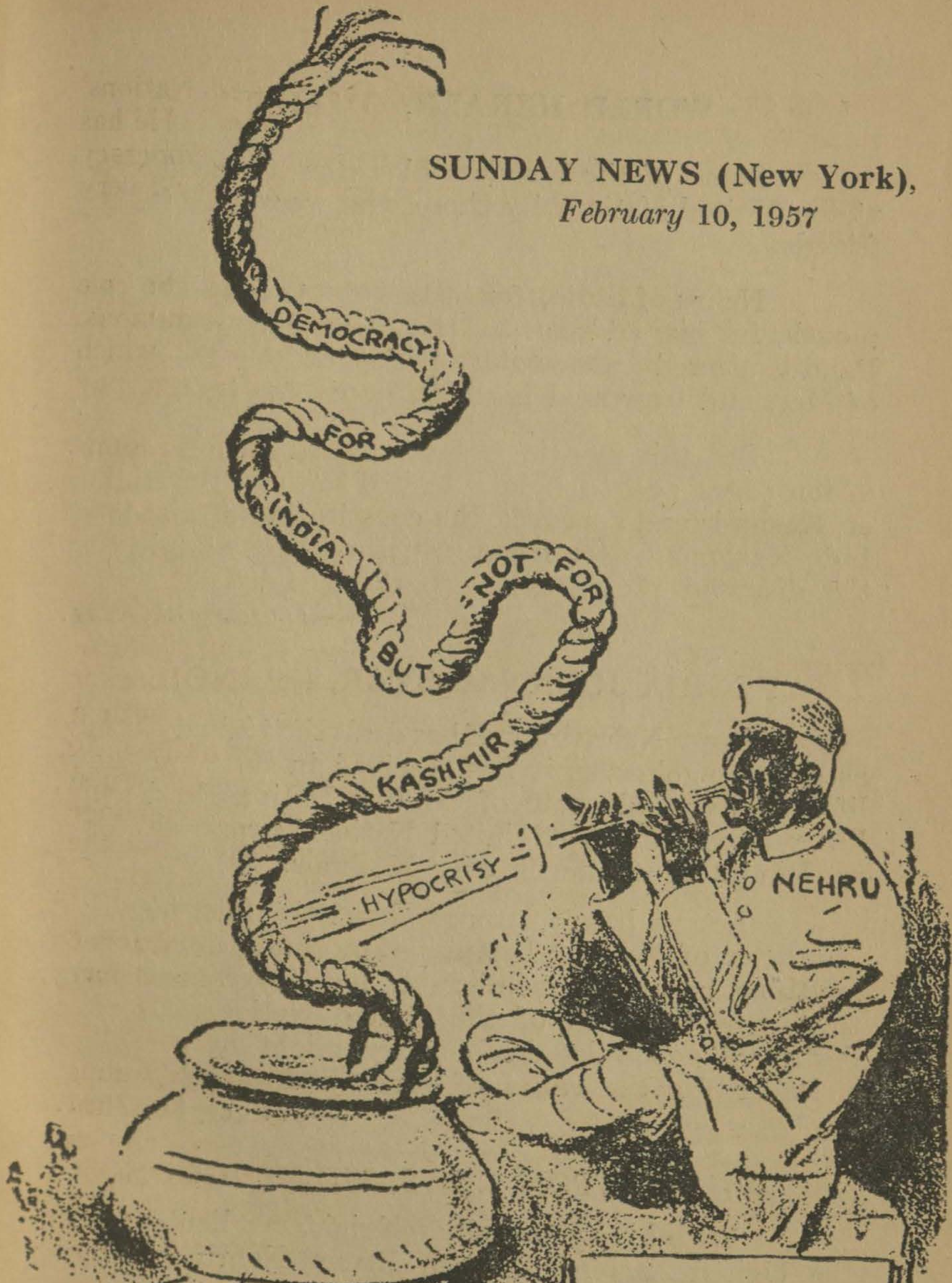
NEW YORK WALL STREET JOURNAL, NEW YORK

Nehru is a man who has been busy building himself up as the world's great peace-maker. Whenever an issue comes up between other countries or groups of other countries Nehru is right there with a plan. Thus, he sponsors Red China for admission to the United Nations. Thus, he enthusiastically sent Indian troops into Korea to police cease-fire lines and exchange prisoners. Thus, he wasted no time sending troops to the United Nations Force, now in Egypt.

It may be, of course, that Nehru is far too bothered about the state of the world to worry over much about the State of Kashmir.

But an agreement to send United Nations' troops into Kashmir might lead to suggestions that Nehru keep his dusty, ten-year agreement for a plebiscite in Kashmir. That would lead to vote and vote might find the people of Kashmir choosing Pakistan instead of India.

—*February* 5, 1957.



SUNDAY NEWS (New York),
February **10, 1957**

WORLD HERALD, OMAHA

Some of the heaviest blows are being directed at the United Nations by those who were once its best friends.

Nehru of India, for instance. As late as the last month, in his address to the American people, the Pandit uttered extravagant praise of the Parliament of Man and expressed his high hopes for it.

But this month, Nehru welshed on his promise of ten years ago to hold a United Nations' referendum on Kashmir and approved the constitution of his stooge Indo-Kashmir Government, which declares simply that the disputed province is a part of India.

—*January* 31, 1957.

PEORIA JOURNAL-STAR, ILLINOIS

Now, Nehru himself has dealt the United Nations as severe a blow as it has received in its tumultuous life. He, the advocate of United Nations leadership, has refused to accept United Nations' proposals for a settlement of argument over Kashmir.

Let us hear no more about the fine, idealistic character of Nehru. Let us pay no more attention to anything he or the members of his Government have to say in the halls of the United Nations. He has destroyed any value his country might have had as a leader for the cause of peace and understanding.

—*January*30, 1957.

WILMINGTON NEWS, WILMINGTON

With his hysterically self-righteous lieutenant in the United Nations, Krishna Menon, Nehru has been

a stickler for such principles as self-determination, non-interference in internal affairs, plebiscite for areas like Cyprus and Goa.

But with respect to Kashmir, Nehru, acting in defiance of the United Nations' resolutions, has now announced that India has absorbed and will rule the territory occupied by the Indian troops. This is greater violation of the United Nations-supervised armistice than anything India has denounced Israel for, and it lacks Israel's provocation. It means that the people of this part of Kashmir are not to have self-determination. The plebiscite, which Nehru himself proposed at a time and which the United Nations formally called for, will not be held. The Security Council's ten-to-zero vote last week, reiterating the United Nations' stand, will be ignored. —*January* 29, 1957.

COURIER JOURNAL, LOUISVILLE

Millions of Westerners will feel a sense of personal regret now that India has firmly announced its intention to annex a part of Kashmir without waiting for the vote of its citizens. This regret will be compounded in part from the realization that Muslim and Hindu antagonism, fanned for years by the Kashmir dispute, will now blaze higher than ever. But the larger part must come from the realization that Nehru has betrayed his own words on Kashmir and has ignored the direction of that world body he professed to hold in such high regard.

He has also, with deadly effectiveness undermined his own claim to moral superiority over the West, claims which many of us respected in spite of occasional irritation or suspicion. He has shown himself

to be as much a partisan as any totalitarian government of today is likely to be. —*January* 18, 1957.

BELFAST TELEGRAPH, BELFAST

Mr. Nehru has never been slow in presenting himself as the keeper of the world's conscience; he has pretended a moral superiority over many another nation.

In the Kashmir issue, however, he is seen in a different light. There has been some social progress in the Kashmir territory which India now holds, but there has also been an oppressive denial of full civil liberties. The persecution of the Government's political opponents is the most disquieting part of this—and one remembers that India also occupied Hyderabad by force. —*January* 28, 1957.

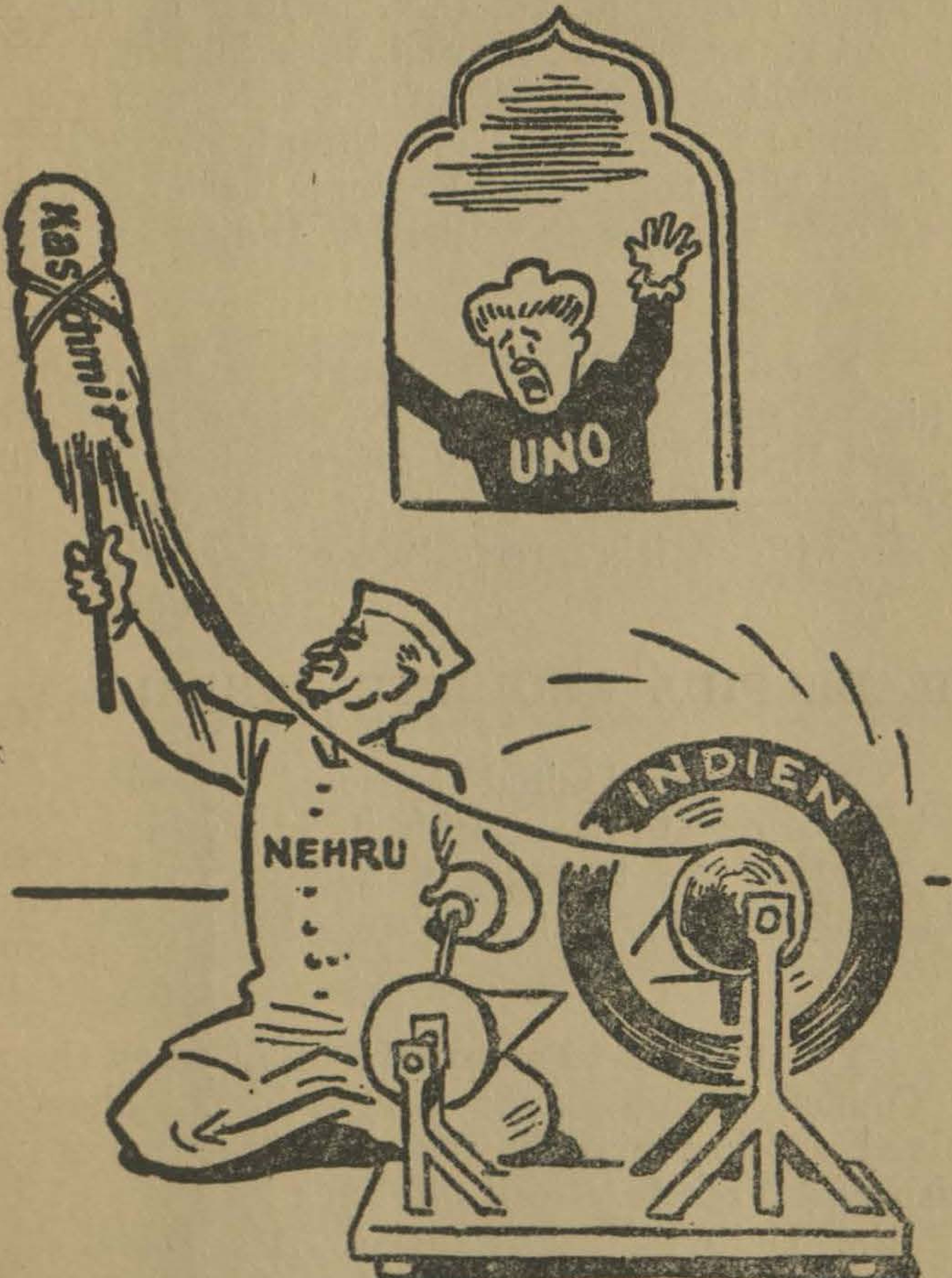
EAST ANGLIAN DAILY TIMES, IPSWICH

The Indian Government has done no good either to its international reputation or to the prospect of friendly relations between India and Pakistan by declaring, in defiance of a Security Council resolution, that Kashmir had become an integral part of India.

But the process by which this *fait accompli* has been brought about, the years of resistance to United Nations, decisions, the imprisonment of the former Prime Minister of Kashmir, the disregard of the principle of self-determination and the silly filibustering tactics of Mr. Krishna Menon in the Security Council, are an affront to every principle of international morality which Mr. Nehru has laid down as a basis for judging the behaviour of other nations.

—*January* 28, 1957.

OBSERVER (Vienna), *January* **29, 1957**



Gandhi's Successor

NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM, NEW YORK

Prime Minister Nehru, when he was in this country, belatedly hailed U.N. actions in the Middle East and Hungary. It showed, he said, not even great nations could defy the will of the U.N. majority. But, on Kashmir issue, Nehru consistently for eight years has defied U.N. ruling that Kashmir residents be permitted to vote whether they wanted Indian or Pakistan rule.

Now—with Russia as usual running interference for him—Nehru says latest U.N. resolution backed by U.S. and Britain is "entirely misconceived." Evidently he is prepared to back his stand with force. And so it goes with Asia's great "Peace Leader".

—*February* 19, 1957.

PHILADELPHIA ENQUIRER, PHILADELPHIA

When the United Nations' Security Council voted ten to zero to have plebiscite in Kashmir to determine whether the territory should go to Pakistan or India, Pakistan agreed; Nehru's India said nothing doing.

Yet it seems to many of us that when the Security Council speaks, some international obligation is involved. Nehru himself was very firm in urging the British and French to call off their invasion of Egypt after the United Nations acted. He talks a great deal about the need to settle the disputes amicably on the basis of justice. If words mean anything he ought to agree to Kashmir plebiscite. But when India's interests are concerned, Nehru's pious words sound like double-talk. —*February* 15, 1957.

MORNING RECORD, TROY (U.S.A.)

The Prime Minister of India has sent troops from his country to other lands under the United Nations' leadership. When the Indian troops went to Korea to supervise a truce there, Nehru did not consider his soldiers "foreign" so much as international. Now, however, he calls the United Nations' forces "foreign troops."

Nehru's course in regard to Kashmir has placed the Prime Minister in a most disagreeable light in view of the world opinion. For, India sent troops to occupy a part of Kashmir—a large and wealthy country and then annexed the occupied territory without heed either to the United Nations' appeal or to the wishes of Kashmir populace.

While Nehru has maintained that the United Nations' recommendations must be respected, he has himself defied the unanimous vote of the Security Council in Kashmir dispute. While Nehru has assailed the colonialism and demanded self-determination for the populations, he has seized larger part of Kashmir and refused to permit a plebiscite.

CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, CINCINNATI

Nehru defied the United Nations. He contrived a vote by the Constituent Assembly handpicked and resting upon the Indian bayonets, uniting Kashmir with India. He proclaims the result as a *fait accompli.*

The Indian Prime Minister ran the risk of war with his neighbour. He sacrificed his moral standing in the United Nations. He revealed himself as wilfully reckless. He exhibited at least one spring of his sym-

pathy for the Soviet imperial system; he, too, appropriates countries by force.

This calm appropriation of the beautiful Muslim State of Kashmir in the teeth of the four United Nations' recommendations and demand for a plebiscite displays Nehru what he is. —*February* 4, 1957.

L'EFFORT, LA CHAOX-DE-FONDS

It is not the cowl that makes the monk. Jawaharlal Nehru, who always has something to say, about Cyprus and Algeria, when he is not giving "moral support" to his friend Nasser, has been unmasked as a vulgar imperialist in Kashmir.

This "man of peace" uses force in Kashmir, when his own interests are involved. This "international conciliator", when it touches his own purse, barters away the dove of peace for the vulture of death (which Menon looks like in his angry moments).

—*February* 4, 1957.

AKIS, ANKARA

Nehru wanted to play the role of the angel of peace, giving lessons of morality to the world, and asking nations to respect the decisions of the U.N. But he was exposed with his defiance of the U.N. in Kashmir when he had to measure his own deeds in the balance he was holding for others. Thus India lost her international moral prestige....

One should not do things to others which he would not tolerate for himself. —*February* 2, 1957.

SEETALER BOTE, HOCHDORF, SWITZERLAND

But now Nehru too, the man with clean hands and the defender of sublime principles, is faced with

DE STANDAARD (Brussels), *February* 1, 1957



Common Violence

difficulty in adhering to the doctrine which, with great conviction, he expounds to others. When the Kashmir question became the focus of international interest and was brought before the U.N. Nehru is said to have admitted that realism might compel a statesman to deviate from the principles which "otherwise" he would proclaim to be the right ones.

Is Nehru not better than the others, or he too is one of those who preach water and drink wine?

Nehru has ignored the latest decision of the U.N. for maintenance of the *status quo* in Kashmir.
—*February* 1, 1957.

SARNIA OBSERVER, ONTARIO

During the past few months the role India has played in the United Nations has been difficulty to follow. Recent events concerning Kashmir are now revealing India's hand as much of a land grabber as the Soviet and with as much disregard for democratic principles.

Kashmir is the Pakistanian province resting at the northerly apex of India. Its people are Muslim and, as such, have religious differences with the Hindus of India. Since 1948, India has been seeking to take over Kashmir but the U.N. has blocked the move until a plebiscite was taken. —*January* 30, 1957.

TELEGRAPH JOURNAL, SAINT JOHN, CANADA

After all the self-righteous preaching of international goodwill and brotherly love that he has been doing and reproaching those nations, especially in the West whose behaviour did not come up to his high

ideals—Prime Minister Nehru of India has done a shocking thing. His country has barefacedly ignored a resolution of the United Nations and has absorbed the richer half of Kashmir, the state over which India and Pakistan have been arguing for nine years.

Both Indian and Pakistan are republics within the Commonwealth. There will be, among the other members, a great deal of sympathy and support for Pakistan in the present unfair situation—particularly as Pakistan all along has shown a commendably helpful attitude towards the U.N. —*January* 29, 1957.

GAZET VAN ANTWERPEN, ANTWERP, BELGIUM

Contrary to the resolutions of the Security Council, and in spite of the fact that she has only 50 kilometers of common border, India officially integrated Kashmir. But that does not solve the question as, except for India, nobody, not even the local population, recognizes this position.

From economic, geographical and cultural points of view, Kashmir belongs to Pakistan rather than to India. The principal rivers which irrigate West Pakistan have their sources in Kashmir, and, last but not the least, the greater part of the population of Kashmir is Muslim. —*March* 23, 1957.

SURA MASJUMI, DJAKARTA

This is the same Nehru who won't permit a free vote in Kashmir on the vital issue of whether the people there want to join India or Pakistan. Until he does that, the free world—and the United Nations which he has rebuffed—will have to reserve judgment on the lily-white democracy he wears like the carnation in his buttonhole. —*March* 15, 1957.

THE PLAIN DEALER, OHIO

Nobody voted (in the "elections" in occupied Kashmir), but all the Indian-backed candidates were declared elected by India. Forty-four leading Kashmiris who asked for a plebiscite just talked themselves into jail.

This is known as democracy in India. This is the Indian manner of observing U.N. resolutions about which the valuable Krishna Menon screams at length when they are directed at anybody but India.

—*March* 9, 1957.

SON POSTA, ISTANBUL

Nehru has annexed Kashmir which is a matter of dispute between India and Pakistan and which can only be resolved through a plebiscite. Thus Nehru has exhibited a political hypocrisy which will undoubtedly occupy a very important negative place in the international history.

He is a great upholder of the principle of self-determination for nations, but, when his own interest is at stake, he forgets all these high principles and proves himself the modern Machiavelli.

Nehru has ineffectively defended himself against those who accused him of having double moral standard.

Nehru's political personality has unfortunately failed in the international field. His word cannot be trusted and it should not be trusted.

—*February* 2, 1957.

PARIS - PRESSE (Paris), *January* 26, 1957



Nehru the two-headed Janus—
depending on his attitude to Kashmir and to the Suez.

APPELL, HELSINGFORS, FINLAND

Judging by all accounts, the majority of the inhabitants of Kashmir is still prepared to opt for Pakistan, if they were given a chance to do so. That is suggested not only by the persons who have become acquainted with conditions on the spot, but also by the fact that the Government in New Delhi has never agreed to a real plebiscite in Kashmir.

The Government in Karachi has all along recommended such a plebiscite under U.N. supervision, and the same attitude has been taken by the Security Council from the beginning. The latter reiterated its view as late as on January 24 this year. But, this resolution was completely ignored by the Indian Government which did not hesitate for a moment to let things take their prescribed course, although it thereby defied not only Pakistan but also the U.N.

—*February* 1, 1957.

EAST AFRICAN STANDARD, NAIROBI

Kashmir holds key strategic position in Asia; furthermore, big rivers have their sources there which decide fertility or drought, life and death in Pakistan. But as, if the sources lie in India, she can close the tap to Pakistan, India has no desire to relinquish this threat, despite all the beautiful speeches which Mr. Nehru makes regarding self-determination and peaceful co-existence.

The ultimate political place of Kashmir ought not to be decided by a hand-picked, so-called National Assembly, or by New Delhi or Karachi, it ought to be decided in Kashmir by Kashmiris, who have the-opportunity freely to express their will. Pakistan's suggestion

that an International Police Force under the U.N. might well supervise such a plebiscite, is constructive.

—*March* 2, 1957.

PFAELZER ABENDZEITUNG, BADGODEBERG

India's refusal to accept the resolution of the Security Council has established that words and deeds do not go together in New Delhi. If the United Nations asked the wicked Western Powers—Great Britain and France—to yield to the decision of the World Assembly, Nehru finds it quite all right. But, if India is asked to make the fate of Kashmir dependent on a free plebiscite, then it is quite a different matter.

Disregard of U.N. in Kashmir is just as old as the Kashmir dispute itself. Nehru's tactics to lead the Security Council by the nose make him a goods-econd to Machiavelli. —*February* 28, 1957.

THE CURRENT, BOMBAY

Mr. Nehru! it is indeed high time you settled the Kashmir problem, for the governments and people of both India and Pakistan have been living under stress and strain for over nine years.

It seems to have now reached its limit and unless this bone of contention is immediately removed, the surging bubble will one day burst abruptly and the situation will utterly go out of hands.

Forget the past, leave aside trivial technical ties and let there be a free and fair plebiscite under the aegis of the U.N. Even if we lose Kashmir on its option

for Pakistan, it would be nothing in comparison to the peace and plenty that will follow in its wake.

—*February* 20, 1957.

VIKKO, HELSINKI

Nehru's fine words which he has spoken in abundance in recent years to maintain his reputation as a guardian of peace, show their hollowness suddenly when his own interests are at stake.

For eight years, Nehru has fed the Kashmiris with strong propaganda in order to buy votes, but apparently, he is not sure about the result of the plebiscite as he tries to avoid its arrangement.

—*February* 8, 1957

RADICAL HUMANIST, CALCUTTA

India has, in the most unambiguous manner conceivable, lost its case in Kashmir before the highest bar of international opinion. This happened in spite of the fact that the prestige of India with the other nations of the world has at no time been possibly greater than it is today. Further, the case of India had been presented by one of its ablest spokesmen. In defending India, Mr. Menon set up a new record for the longest speech in U.N.'s history. Yet neither Mr. Nehru's prestige nor Mr. Menon's oratory helped India.

If freedom and justice be our highest values, then we must have no hesitation in agreeing to a fair plebiscite in Kashmir under U.N. auspices. Whatever the result of the plebiscite, by courageously admitting the right of the Kashmiris to decide their own destiny, India shall not only gain Kashmir's friendship and

possibly Pakistan's as well, but also greatly strengthen the moral foundations of democracy in India.

—*February* 3, 1957.

ARBEITER ZEITUNG, BASLE

It is remarkable that Nehru, in the case of Kashmir, makes use of the same arguments before the U.N. as Pineau did in the Algerian affair.

Today, he declares that the Kashmir problem was an internal affair of India and did not concern anybody. These are the same words which were used by Russia, in order to justify her itervention in Hungary.

Nehru is a power politician and a politician of violence. He, too, is a "colonialist", but he will possibly make the difference that the oppression of one coloured people by another coloured people does not go under colonialism.

—*January* 28, 1957.

BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, COPENHAGEN

India's professional peace-dove, Pandit Nehru, had promised Pakistan that the future status of Kashmir would be determined through a plebiscite. But now the peace-dove has snapped with its beak and decided to assure Kashmir for India with the help of cannons.

—*January* 28, 1957.

THE RHODESIA HERALD, RHODESIA

Not since the days of Hitler has there been such a shocking breach of international morality as Mr. Nehru's seizure on Saturday of the Indian-controlled part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and its incorporation

in India. His purpose is plain—to forestall any further action on Kashmir by the Security Council of the United Nations—but in taking this step he has, in effect, torn up the solemn obligation entered into by India at the United Nations in 1951 to submit the future of the territory to a plebiscite of the people and has openly defied the authority of the United Nations.

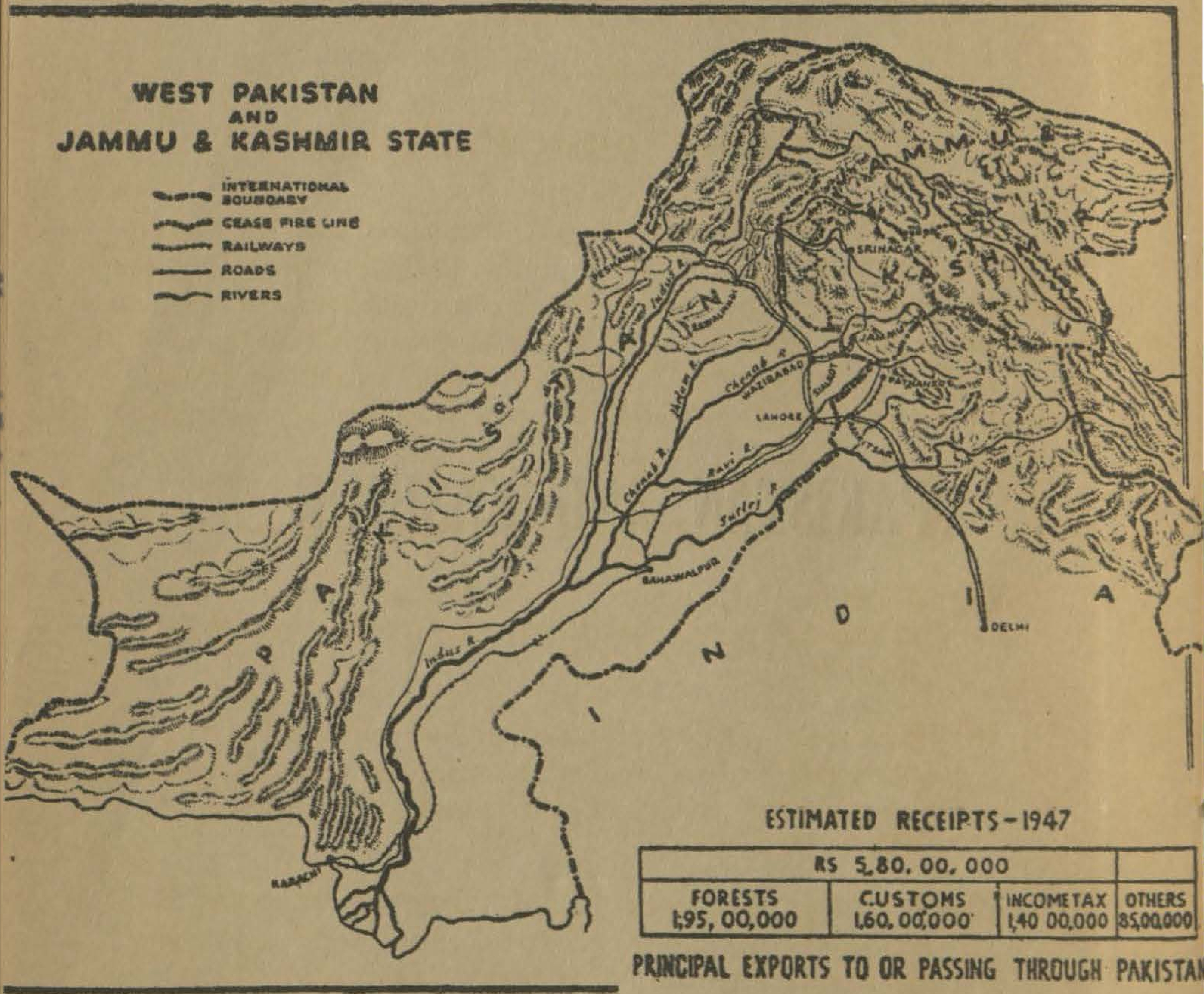
—*January* 28, 1957.

APPENDIX IV

PAKISTAN AND KASHMIR

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, the Founder of Pakistan, once declared that "Kashmir will fall into our lap like a ripe fruit." Nobody ever imagined that Kashmir could have an existence outside Pakistan. Apart from religious and cultural ties, the main roads, the mountain routes and the river courses make West Pakistan and Kashmir one geographical unit. They are two parts of a whole and have to prosper or perish together.

Pakistan and Kashmir



ESTIMATED RECEIPTS – 1947

RS 5,80,00,000			
FORESTS 1,95,00,000	CUSTOMS 1,60,00,000	INCOMETAX 1,40,00,000	OTHERS 85,00,000

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS TO OR PASSING THROUGH PAKISTAN

TIMBER	90%	(LOCAL CONSUMPTION 10%)
FRUITS ETC.	80%	(DO 20%)
WOOLLENS	80%	(DO 20%)

Pakistan, without Kashmir, is like a man without a head, a house without a roof, a ship without a deck . . .

APPENDIX IV

Kashmir and Pakistan

THE State of Jammu and Kashmir has an area of 84,471 square miles. It is bounded on the north-east by Tibet, on the north by China, on the extreme north-west by Afghanistan where it is also in close proximity with Soviet Russia, on the west and south by West Pakistan and by a perilously narrow hilly tip in the south-east by India.

The State is composed of three units:—

(1) Jammu Province (topographically and ethnologically part of the plains of West Pakistan).

(2) Kashmir Valley (Muzaffarabad district of this province has common race, terrain and boundary with Abbottabad, a district of West Pakistan).

(3) Frontier districts (Gilgit zone of this unit is flanked on the north-west and west by the Pakistan States of Chitral, Dir and Swat).

The total population of the Jammu and Kashmir State, according to the census figures of 1941 was 4,023,180, Muslims numbering 3,102,700, i.e. 77.11 per cent or more than three-fourths and non-Muslims under a million (920,480), constituting less than one-fourth,

i.e., 22.89 per cent only. The distribution of population in the three territorial units of the State is as follows:

		Total Population	Muslims
1. Jammu Province:			
Muslims ..	1,215,076	1,981,483	61.3%
Non-Muslims ..	775,575		
2. Kashmir Valley:			
Muslims ..	1,615,478	1,728,705	93.4%
Non-Muslims ..	112,270		
3. Frontier Districts:			
Muslims ..	270,093	311,400	88.9%
Non-Muslims ..	41,381		

Thus there was a Muslim majority in the State as a whole as well as in each administrative division taken singly, when in 1947 the British Indian Empire gave place in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to the two successor States India and Pakistan. Of these Pakistan was the expression of the self-determination of the Muslim majority areas of the subcontinent. Now, the State of Jammu and Kashmir was contiguous to Pakistan; it was as predominantly Muslim as Pakistan itself; its three great rivers, arteries of Kashmir's timber trade, flowed into Pakistan to irrigate its vast agricultural plains; in race, culture, values, food and customs the people of Kashmir and of West Pakistan formed one single homogeneous unit; road communications which in all mountainous countries follow the course of rivers, determined the course of the Jhelum (the only road leading out of the Kashmir Valley open all the year

round) to Rawalpin[illegible] Pakistan and the course of the Chenab (from Jammu to Sialkot). The road connecting Jammu with Srinagar in the Kashmir Valley, which has now been extended through causeways to India, crosses the Pir Panjal range at the 10,000 feet high Banihal Pass and is snowbound for about four months in the year.

Apart from the fact that Jammu and Kashmir State has been one of the principal recruiting grounds of the Pakistan Army, a source of man-power Pakistan could not forego, there was the obvious threat that the occupation of Kashmir by India would expose Pakistan's vital and vulnerable flank, with its main rail and road communications, and would lead to an encirclement of Pakistan. This was pointed out by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, first Prime Minister of Indian-occupied Kashmir. Due to the strategic position that the State held, if this State joined the Indian Dominion, he thought, Pakistan would be completely encircled.

The agricultural economy of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is based on the forest wealth of its great mountain slopes. Before October, 1947, the timber from these forests was floated down the rivers to its two great markets at Jhelum and Wazirabad in Pakistan. In winter months the Kashmiri workers found employment in the temperate plains of West Pakistan. Besides, Kashmir's proverbial fresh fruit found their nearest and most practical markets in close-by Rawalpindi in Pakistan, a few hours' drive from the Kashmir Valley. Kashmir's economic links with Pakistan were equally marked in its import trade. Most of the Kashmir's requirements in salt, pulses, grain, wool and oilseeds were met by what is now West Pakistan. Practically



THE AUTHOR

Mr. Aziz Beg is the Editor of STAR, Pakistan's popular and oldest political weekly. He writes for the intelligentsia who have found his viewspaper "stimulating, fearless and constructive—never failing to give a lead to the [illegible] and Government." Mr. Aziz Beg [illegible] top-ranking journalist and writer and one of the leading intellectuals of the country. He has been an active newspaperman for more than a decade and was in the forefront of the struggle for Pakistan.

He has been described as "one of those journalists who have not only a passion for the profession but possess the spirit and ability without which the pursuit of independent journalism is not possible." The keynotes of his writings are 'sanity and patriotism.' Some of his bold articles have generated long and lively controversies in the national press.

Soon after the birth of Pakistan, Mr. Aziz Beg left on a tour of Europe and Middle East. During his 6-month travels, he introduced his new-born State to public leaders, journalists, Government officials, and businessmen in every country where he sojourned.

In 1956, he visited the United States under the Leaders Exchange Programme and as a guest of the Harvard University to participate in the International Seminar. During his 5-month itinerary in the United States, he wrote articles for leading American newspapers, delivered lectures under the auspices of Committee on Foreign Relations and gave Radio talks on various aspects of Pakistan.

—The Publishers.

"Captive Kashmir" is an invaluable contribution to the existing literature on the Kashmir dispute. Mr. Aziz Beg has indeed done a great service to the unfortunate people of Kashmir as also to Pakistan and he deserves not only our congratulations but our gratitude too. The famous author's masterly and comprehensive treatment of the theme, his brilliant and forceful advocacy of the Pakistani point of view, his lucid and fascinating style and the rich, authoritative and factual data and the beautiful manner of their presentation will endear the book to everyone interested in the subject.

ATAUR RAHMAN KHAN
Chief Minister East Pakistan.

"In his brilliant exposition of the Kashmir case, Mr. Aziz Beg has shed new light on many fundamentals as well as various facets of the Kashmir problem. The treatise adds a masterly contribution to the voluminous literature on the subject. While congratulating him on this enchanting effort, I deem it my duty to express to him my deep sense of gratitude for the pains he has taken in pleading the case of the people of Kashmir to the moral conscience of mankind."

SARDAR MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN
PRESIDENT
AZAD JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT